



THE KEYNOTER



Special Issue: James M. Cox

The 1920 Campaign • Cox/Roosevelt Jugates • Wilson and Cox
Cox in Ohio • FDR in 1920 • Publishers for President

Editor's Message

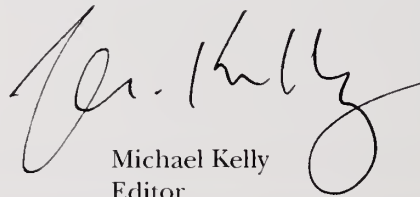
First off, I must correct an error in the last issue. The otherwise excellent article by Steve Baxley on the Red Scare of 1919 in the Summer 1998 issue referred to the IWW as the International Workers of the World. That is not only inaccurate, it's redundant. The IWW stands, of course, for the Industrial Workers of the World. Thanks to the several APIC members who wrote in about that. Dr. Ed Sullivan added that the Red Scare of 1919 was not the first such outburst of paranoia, as a similar Red Scare appeared in the 1870's.

Turning to the current special issue on the campaign material of James M. Cox, this is the result of many peoples' labor. First and foremost, Robert Fratkin was the driving force behind this project. Not only did he have the initial idea, he made the contacts with Cox Enterprises that gave The Keynoter access to what must currently be the most impressive collection of any single candidate's material in the world. Fratkin also tracked down most of the other material from the collections of APIC members. Lynda Stewart at Cox Enterprises opened the doors and provided complete cooperation and diverse assistance despite the demands of her normal professional schedule. Unless otherwise noted, all material pictured in this issue is from the Cox Enterprises collection.

Additional items came from several APIC members. Frank Cherry had a wonderful array of Cox items that added much to the issue. As always, Ted Hake's books had material unavailable elsewhere. Likewise, the work of Roger Fischer, Edmund Sullivan and David Frent yielded additional important illustrations. Auction photos from Tom Slater and Al Anderson provided even more items. Good fortune placed me at the recent Indianapolis APIC show when a previously unknown Cox/Roosevelt jugate window decal [see page 33] appeared and was auctioned on the bourse floor for \$4,500. When I asked winner Tom Huston if I could copy it for this issue, he handed it to me without a moment's hesitation. That open sharing (only minutes after paying \$4,500 for the item) is one of those things that make collecting Political Americana such a pleasure.

Perhaps the most exciting material is found on page 31. APIC member Gary Cohen found two previously unknown Cox/Roosevelt items including a newly discovered Cox/Roosevelt jugate button from the collection of Steven Cohen. Another key piece is the League of Nations button on page 11 from the collection of APIC member Drew Hecht.

It has been an interesting experience working with these many incredible images for the last several months. Despite collecting since 1964, the Cox material in my personal collection doesn't go much beyond the small Cox/Roosevelt lithos and several rooster lapel studs. The only unusual items I have are the two "League of Nation" star buttons on page 11 which Steve Ackerman and I found in a Virginia flea market thirty years ago. If I remember right, there were four of them. Steve and I split them and probably hesitated a bit as they cost \$5 each or something like that. We were then high school students out at Georgetown Prep in Maryland and five bucks were not to be carelessly spent. I haven't managed to add anything really special to my Cox collection since.



Michael Kelly
Editor

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, Frank Cherry, Cox Enterprises, Gary Cohen, Steven Cohen, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, David Frent, Theodore Hake, Drew Hecht, Tom Huston, Tom Slater, Lynda Stewart and Edmund Sullivan.

Covers: Front: RWB six-inch celluloid button of James Cox. **Back:** This wooden cut-out sign is five feet in diameter and painted red, white, blue, yellow and black. It is mounted in the hallway outside the executive conference room at the Cox Enterprises headquarters in Atlanta.

Please note that the many images of Cox material in this issue came from many sources. Although we are very pleased with the generally fine level of image quality, a great many items are not shown at their proper size. So much material came in so many different forms that consistent sizing was not possible.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The left-wing is featured this issue with a profile of Socialist Party presidential candidate Frank Zeidler, who also served as Mayor of Milwaukee, and a review of the new book from Edmund B. Sullivan and Paul Buhle (Images of American Radicalism). Also featured will be political postcards from Confederate veterans, political items from Georgia, and Roger Fischer on cartoons about Theodore Roosevelt.



COX FOR PRESIDENT THE CAMPAIGN OF 1920

By Michael Kelly



As the political season of 1920 opened, the Republic was still shaking from the impact of traumatic change. The shattering of the previously dominant Republican Party in 1912 still resonated in political circles. The devastation of World War I (then known as The Great War) from 1914 to 1918 had left the verities and traditions of generations in ruins. The Red Scare of 1919 had increased levels of national fear and distrust, exacerbating existing conflicts between labor and capital, farm and city, internationalist and isolationist, wet and dry. Women had won the right to vote in federal elections for the first time in 1920, African-American war veterans returned home unwilling to bow to Jim Crow laws and the reborn Ku Klux Klan was a rising political power.

Meanwhile, the President hid in the White House, crippled by a stroke during his losing crusade for the League of Nations. Bed-ridden and partially paralyzed, Woodrow Wilson made no public appearances and communicated only through brief messages delivered by his wife. With the executive branch in Democratic hands and Congress under Republican control, federal leadership was as paralyzed as the President.

In the face of such searing divisions, both major political parties faced a challenge in choosing a presidential candidate for the 1920 election. In the end, both parties by-passed national figures and primary victors to choose lesser-known leaders. Both were men from Ohio. Both were newspaper publishers.

This issue of *The Keynoter* is dedicated to the story of Ohio's James M. Cox. Elsewhere in this issue you will find articles about Cox's time as Governor of Ohio and Congressman from Dayton, about the 1920 Democratic Convention and the famous Cox/Roosevelt jugate campaign buttons. This article is about the general election of 1920.

The two party conventions produced compromise candidates (although James Cox demonstrated more popular support than had Warren Harding). Neither was a household name. As the campaign commenced, *The New York Globe* stated that the next President "will be an Ohio

editor who began active life in a printing-office, successfully edited and published several small-town newspapers, played an unimportant role in Congress, and never attained to a national reputation until this summer..." The *Wall Street Journal* expressed pleasure that no radical had been nominated and the *New York Commercial* declared that "business will be safe with either."

The Providence Tribune lamented that "the day of supermen is ended in the Democratic as well as the Republican party...from Roosevelt and Wilson we have been dropped to Harding and Cox." This harsh evaluation was probably inevitable after the tumultuous era through which the nation had so recently passed. But not every paper thought of James Cox in such terms. *The Milwaukee Journal* saw great hope in the nomination:

"Governor Cox is the first presidential nominee to belong to a new political generation. He is the first candidate whose political life has not been concerned with the tariff and the train of similar politics that has figured at least since the middle [eighteen-] seventies. As Governor his chief work has been the reorganization of the governmental machinery of Ohio to meet the demands of a new age."

Likewise, *The San Francisco Bulletin* was enthusiastic:

"Cox is a candidate of presidential quality, a man of the people; he has risen to his present position by hard work and superior abilities. On the personal side he has the qualities that make for a popular leader and with a popular Democratic platform to stand on he should make a fight that will cause his opponent to strain every nerve..."

The Bulletin's prediction to the contrary, the Republican nominee did not appear to be straining any nerves. Warren Harding announced that he would emulate William McKinley and campaign from his front porch in Marion, Ohio. Although Harding did eventually make a few speaking trips as Election Day drew near, his strategy remained to offer calm generalities and muted criticism of Wilson.

By contrast, Cox launched an active fight through November. Underfunded and facing what would become a Republican landslide, the Cox campaign did produce a variety of campaign items. Although rare, there is still a diverse range of Cox items to be seen.

Two large 9" buttons exist from the 1920 campaign. One has a traditional RWB tricolor and carries the simple



Above are an extremely rare item and three relatively common items. On the left is a brass and glass sign designed to be lit from underneath using the letters "C-O-X" in a design encouraging marking the "x" on your ballot. On the right are three handsome tiny celluloids in red, white and blue versions. When discussing Cox items, even "relatively common" items are hard to find.

message "Cox." The other (seen on the cover of this issue) is a perfect representative item. Also RWB, it carries a large clear photo of the candidate and the message "For President James M. Cox."

Watch fobs were in vogue that year and more than a half dozen versions exist. One Cox/Roosevelt jugate fob comes in a choice of silver or gold colored metals, showing the two candidates beneath an eagle and above the legend "Our Choice." The Cox Enterprises collection contains a full salesman's display card of that version. Another jugate watch fob carries head-and-shoulder pictures of the two candidates and the date "1920."

Other versions feature just the presidential nominee. Two are silver colored metal: one shaped like a shield with a small round portrait labeled "James M. Cox" while the other is round with wavy edges and a profile portrait, federal buildings and the word "Cox." Three other fobs are celluloid buttons mounted on fobs. One features a photo of Cox flanked by Democratic donkeys with his full name beneath the photo (this design also exists advertising a Chicago clothing store with the phrase "Best Ever" above the photo). The third version is black and white with his name and picture under "For President." There are Harding mates to each version.

One of the more unusual items is a small silvered hanger in the shape of a key that bears raised portraits of Cox and Roosevelt. There are at least thirty different picture buttons of the Democratic nominee and more than a score of word buttons for the ticket. The opposition of the city machine Democrats for a national prohibition of alcohol is evident in buttons reading "Cox and Cocktails" and "Vote For Cox and Cocktails," which were probably seen in the vicinity of coattail items for New York's Al Smith. There is a "Cox and Smith" button with attached ribbon that features the New York Democratic star on the button and "22nd Assembly Democratic Organization - Cox/Smith/Walker and Victory" on the ribbon. There are various items reflecting the League of Nations issue, discussed in more depth in the "Wilson and Cox" article later in this issue.

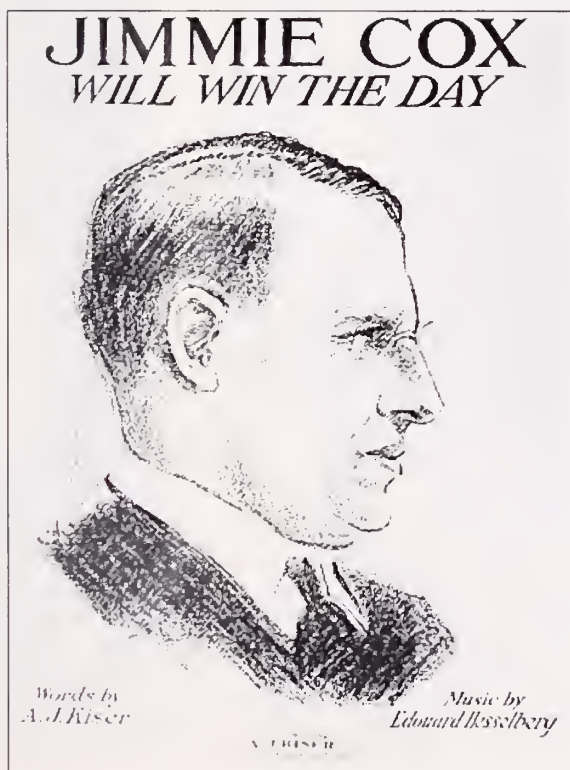
In his autobiography, *Journey Through My Years*, Cox wrote, "the League of Nations in the presidential campaign of 1920 was to be the overshadowing issue. It could not have been otherwise." Starting at the official notification ceremonies in Dayton, Ohio, on August 7, Cox would carry his fight to the people. He writes:

"We had single speaking engagements in Indiana and West Virginia, and then the tour to the West started, to carry the issues of the campaign to the public. We went through Ohio to Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and back to Dayton...we had covered twenty-four states. All states west of the Mississippi, except Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas were visited. Two hundred and thirty-eight speeches were delivered and the mileage covered was 9,975. This was a tremendously laborious and fatiguing ordeal."

One anecdote from the campaign demonstrated Cox's appeal to organized labor. At a night meeting in Butte, Montana (where running mate Franklin Roosevelt would later make a major campaign blunder), Cox faced heckling from members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). "I told them by the recital of a simple story," he related, "the difference between a progressive and a reactionary state. A certain factory was located across the Ohio-Pennsylvania state line. A man working on the Pennsylvania side was injured. He was helpless in hips and legs, but he retained consciousness and pulled himself across the state line into Ohio, where the mishap was reported and recognized under law."

Cox reported "there were no more unfriendly demonstrations."

The Democratic nominee drew large and interested crowds across the nation. The effort culminated with huge and enthusiastic rallies in New York City and Chicago. Reporters travelling with the Cox campaign



Sheet Music





1920 produced a strong selection of Cox watch fobs, many of which have Harding mates. All on this page are shown enlarged except for that in the lower right corner.





JAMES M. COX



FOR PRESIDENT
1920

WILBUR W. MARSH
TREASURER

GEORGE WHITE
CHAIRMAN

W. D. JAMIESON
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE

Democratic National Committee
GRAND CENTRAL PALACE
NEW YORK

Received of Fred Walker
THE SUM OF Five dollars
IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUND TO PAY THE NECESSARY EXPENSES OF THE CAMPAIGN
IN BEHALF OF THE ELECTION OF JAMES M. COX AS PRESIDENT AND
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
THE PURPOSE OF THE MANAGERS BEING TO FINANCE THE CAMPAIGN BY POPULAR
SUBSCRIPTIONS.

No. 33486

Dated October 29, 1920

Counterigned _____
Cashier

Wilbur W. Marsh
Treasurer

W. D. Jamieson
Director of Finance



GOVERNOR
JAMES M. COX
OUR
NEXT PRESIDENT
OKLAHOMA

RECEPTION
COMMITTEE
OCT. 1, 1920



One of the interesting aspects of 1920 is the large number of very tiny buttons, including the four at the top. Of the three "COX" buttons, the first is gold on blue, the second blue on white with red background and the third red on white with blue background. The picture buttons are black on cream. All five are from the collection of Robert Fratkin. Other items include a receipt for a campaign donation and a playing card with Cox on the back (there is a Harding mate; see the card set page 47). Above is a vendor card of Cox/Roosevelt watch fobs. To the left is a ribbon from Oklahoma and a picture stickpin. The stickpin is shown enlarged.

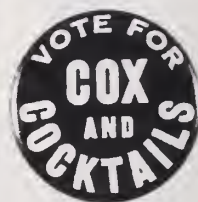
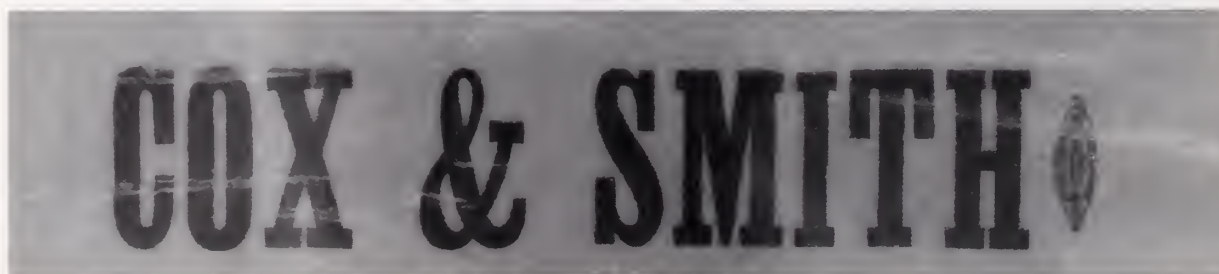
believed that Harding was heading for defeat but others saw the bigger picture. As the Cox campaign train drew back into Dayton early on the Sunday morning before the election, reporter James Faulkner was awakened by the sound of church bells. He climbed down from his berth and approached Governor Cox with tears in his eyes. "Those bells tell me," he told Cox, "that at this very moment my mother at early Mass in Cincinnati is praying confidently for your election, and you haven't a chance. It's a damn shame."

Harding received 16,181,289 popular votes to Cox's 8,141,750. The Electoral College went 404 electoral votes for Harding against Cox's 127, despite the seemingly impenetrable Democratic "Solid South" (deserted by Tennessee, which wound up in the GOP column). Eugene Debs and the Socialists took almost a million votes.

According to historian James Cebula, "Despite Cox's energetic and tireless campaign the Democrats were doomed to defeat in 1920. The country rejected the [in]ability of the party in power to solve the economic problems of post-war reconstruction...The economic distress effected precisely those elements of the electorate that Cox had hoped to forge into a solid coalition." *The New York Times* summed up that it hadn't really been Cox who was defeated but "a composite figure of many illusions, legends, errors, dissatisfactions, grudges..." Shortly after the election Governor Cox himself offered a somewhat harsh view of the voters: "Those who voted for us did so from conviction. Those who were against us were moved by prejudice and selfishness - some from misunderstanding...The war brought so many reactions that the landslide was inevitable."

In later years, his impression softened slightly: "...the Italians were against us because of Fiume, the Germans were against us because of the war, the Irish opposed the Democratic ticket because Wilson refused to bring the question of Irish freedom before the Peace Conference." Nonetheless, the Cox campaign left a lasting imprint on the Democratic Party and the nation. The urban-southern coalition which nominated Cox came to dominate the Democratic Party for decades and Cox furthered the movement of organized labor into the Democratic coalition. For years, historians would continue to debate whether American entry into the League of Nations would have made a difference in the series of events that led to Hitler and World War II.

We will never know the answer, but the possibilities of what a Cox victory in 1920 might have meant to the world is one of the more interesting questions students of American political history will ponder for many years to come.★



The "Cox and Smith" ribbon is a coattail item from New York and promotes Governor Al Smith along with Cox. Smith was one of Cox's rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1920 and eventually won the nomination himself in 1928. It is quite possible that supporters of the 1920 Cox/Smith state ticket might have worn the "Vote for Cox and Cocktails" button as both governors opposed prohibition.



The picture above shows Governor Cox on the campaign trail. The modest-looking "Cox" button in the upper left corner is actually six inches in diameter.

WILSON AND COX: KEEPING THE FAITH

By Michael Kelly



The campaign of James M. Cox cannot be understood without considering his relationship with the man he hoped to succeed, President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was a powerful and historical politician. Only the second Democrat to win the White House since 1856 and only the second president since U.S. Grant to win two consecutive terms, Wilson was elected and re-elected with a minority of votes cast (something no one else had ever done or would do until Bill Clinton). He led the nation through a shattering war and tried to lead it into an active role on the international stage.

Yet for all his brilliance, Wilson often misjudged the American people. In the 1918 midterm elections, he turned his back on the bipartisan coalition that had rallied to his leadership as World War I raged. He issued a call for all loyal Americans to support the war effort by voting the Democratic ticket. The result was a Republican landslide giving the GOP control of both the Senate and the House.

As the war drew to a close, President Wilson refused to involve the congressional leadership in peace negotiations. Convinced of his own moral superiority (something reaffirmed to him by the rapturous public reception he received when he traveled to Europe for peace negotiations), Wilson saw himself as being above mere politics. His Fourteen Points offered the world a new, idealistic vision of international relations, which would avoid the greed and competition that spawned so destructive a war.

He returned from Europe with a treaty that fell short of his idealistic vision. Nonetheless, it contained one key

element promising a new world order: the League of Nations, a body of nations united to enforce peace and punish aggressors.

Many Americans greeted the concept with a cynicism born of traditional isolationism fertilized by the horrors of modern war. Wilson had run for re-election in 1916 on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War" but led the nation into war just four months after his second inauguration. He promised his countrymen that they were fighting "the war to end war" and that their costly victory would result in a new era of justice between nations. In reality, the victorious European powers squabbled over which pieces of territory they would acquire and how much money the losers would be forced to pay.

Despite all, President Wilson kept faith in his vision and was determined to see America retain its leading role in the world through the League of Nations. Others – personified by Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge – saw things differently. Wilson probably could have won the League battle had he been more willing to include his opponents in the discussions and grant a few concessions. His personality was not inclined to such political dealings, however, and he chose to take his crusade for the League of Nations beyond Washington to the American people.

The people proved a bit more resistant to his vision than he had expected. On a strenuous cross-country tour, President Wilson suffered a stroke and returned to the White House a broken man. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty he had negotiated, declining to bring the United States into the League of Nations.

As governor, James Cox had been a firm supporter of Wilson. His newspaper supported both the President and the League of Nations. Governor Cox himself had served as chairman of the Ohio League to Enforce Peace, which attempted to boost public support for American entry into the League of Nations. But many Democratic politicians were well aware of public disenchantment with President Wilson and international involvement. They advised Cox to avoid the League in the fall campaign, seeing an emphasis on domestic issues and a progressive agenda as the road to victory. Their hopes were dashed when James Cox and his running mate, Franklin Roosevelt, paid a visit to President Wilson at the White House.

Years later FDR described their visit to President Wilson in a conversation with Ambassador Claude Bowers.

"I accompanied the Governor on the visit to Wilson. A large crowd greeted us at the station and we went directly to the White House. There we were asked to wait fifteen minutes as they were taking the President to the portico facing the grounds. As we



Woodrow Wilson and James Cox ran together twice. In 1912 and again in 1916, Wilson was the presidential nominee while Cox ran for governor of Ohio.

came in sight of the portico we saw the President in a wheel chair, his left shoulder covered with a shawl which concealed his left arm, which was paralyzed, and the Governor said to me, 'He is a very sick man.'

"The Governor went up to the President and warmly greeted him. Wilson looked up and in a very low, weak voice said, 'Thank you for coming. I am very glad you came.' His utter weakness was startling and I noticed tears in the eyes of Cox. A little later Cox said, 'Mr. President, we are going to be a million per cent with you, and your administration, and that means the League of Nations.' The President looked up again, and again in a voice scarcely audible, he said, 'I am very grateful,' and then repeated, 'I am very grateful.'

"As we passed out we came then to the Executive offices and in this very room, Cox sat down at this

table [Bowers wrote that FDR struck the table at which he was sitting] "and asked [secretary Joseph] Timulty for paper and pencil, and there he wrote the statement that committed us to making the League the paramount issue of the campaign. It was one of the most impressive scenes I have ever witnessed."

Politics prevented an accurate account of the meeting being reported for many years. President Wilson's office issued a statement describing the meeting thus:

"The interview was in every respect most satisfactory and most gratifying. I found what I indeed already knew and what Governor Cox has let the world know in his speeches, that he and I were absolutely at one with regard to the great issue of the League of Nations and that he is ready to be the champion in every respect of the honor of the nation and to secure the

COX AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS



Although few campaign items link Cox to the League of Nations, it was the dominant issue of the race. The blue and white cloth sash is a handsome

item. The two "A League of Nations" star buttons are blue and white (left) and silver and white (right). There are indications that they were used in the 1920 campaign, although it is not certain. The picture button in the middle (from the collection of Drew Hecht) is the strongest known item. It reads: "ON THE BASIS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT WILSON FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS - 'I AM FOR GOING IN.'"

COX OR HARDING



peace of world. Governor Cox will have the vigorous support of an absolutely united party and, I am confident, also an absolutely united nation."

Cox also issued a statement, one that took some liberties in describing the dialogue.

"From every viewpoint the meeting was delightful. The President was at his best, recalling any detail inquired about as bearing upon the international situation and enlivening the whole conference with a humorous anecdote now and then in his characteristic way."

Franklin Roosevelt added to the fable in his own public statement.

"I wish that every American could have been a silent witness to the meeting between these two great men. Their splendid accord and their high purpose are an inspiration."

So the Democratic ticket went into the fall campaign committed to defend the League of Nations. It is reflected in several campaign items. Two 7/8" buttons made by Bastian Brothers exist that read "League of Nations" surrounding a large star. One version is white on blue and the other silver on blue. Although it is not absolutely clear that these are Cox campaign items, there is a letter in the files of the Roosevelt Library in which a woman from Massachusetts writes "is it possible for you to send me some of the campaign buttons? I would like perhaps 25 or more of each - the 'Cox and Roosevelt' and the 'League of Nations.' I find that the Democrats have no headquarters in New Bedford so have to send to you for them."

There are plenty of items that clearly portray Cox and Roosevelt as champions of the League. A handsome white sash carries blue letters reading "Cox and the League of Nations" while a small RWB sticker urges voters to "Keep Faith With our Sons - Bring America into The League of Nations - Vote For Cox and Roosevelt." A brochure targeted at the newly-enfranchise women voters states that

"There are 81,000 reasons why the Women of America will vote for a League of Nations to preserve peace; they are your 81,000 sons and brothers and husbands who fought and died in France and Flanders to make an end of war. We must not break faith with those who died. A Vote for Cox and Roosevelt is a Vote for the League of Nations."

"Never Again" headlines another brochure bearing a photo of soldiers' graves. "Vote for Peace. Vote for Cox and Roosevelt" it concludes. Many Democratic pamphlets and ads dwelt on the theme of "Keeping the Faith" with the war dead. But the nation was tired of idealism and heroics. The carnage of the battlefield and the greed of the victors combined to create public cynicism. Warren Harding's call for a return to "normalcy" was more in keeping with the public mood.

In a real sense, James Cox was not defeated in 1920. Woodrow Wilson was. The liberal editor of *The Nation*, Oswald Garrison Villard, wrote that "nobody except Mr. Wilson himself should have been asked to shoulder the burden of the mistakes, the follies, the wrongs, perpetrated by the President and his subordinates, but no Democrat could have won."★

NEVER AGAIN



They lie here— in this American cemetery in France—some of the 161,000 American boys who gave their lives in a

WAR TO END WAR

They would never have gone to die over-seas if in 1914 the nations of the world had banded together to protect one another. For Germany would not have dared to face the whole world alone. But—

They went willingly when called so that they might do their bit to end militarism forever and win a victory for everlasting peace.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS THEIR DREAM COME TRUE

It means that henceforth nations in the League will talk over differences and settle disputes by peaceful methods instead of by fighting.

It means that these nations have agreed to cut down the vast sums spent for battle-ships and munitions of war—which means in turn lower taxes and lower cost of living. Today the United States spends 70 per cent. of our tax money for supporting the army and navy and 1 per cent. for education.

It means the end of bloodshed, suffering, WAR.

It means Peace on Earth, Goodwill Toward Men.

VOTE AS THIS MAN FOUGHT A LETTER TO THE NEW YORK WORLD

To the Editor:

My four brothers and myself enlisted in the army to fight not against the German government alone but for a world-wide democracy and the abolition of all future warfare.

We thought, as did thousands of our buddies, that the League of Nations would become a reality after the war. Imagine our surprise and disappointment upon returning to our beloved United States to learn that some of our patriotic (?) statesmen were making a party football out of the greatest and most vital instrument for future peace.

I was wounded and am a cripple for life. There are thousands of others like me. Are all our sacrifices to be in vain because of such men as Lodge, Borah, Johnson and Harding? God forbid.

I pray that God on election day may send all men and women to the polls, with their heads clear and their hearts right.

AN EX-MARINE.

37 Nations have already joined the League.

The Republican Party is *against* America going in.

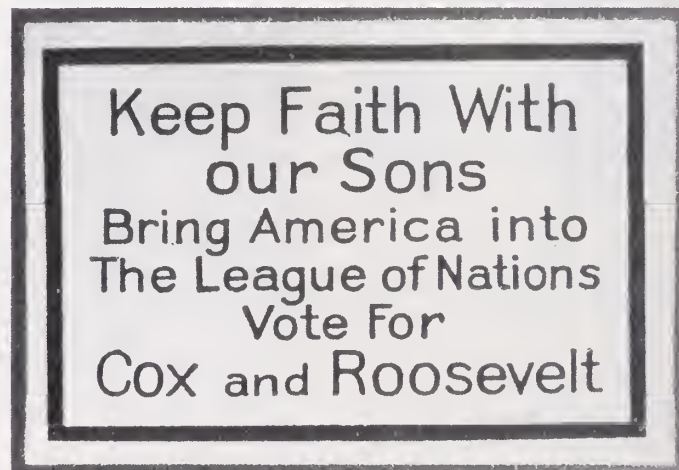
The Democratic Party *will* bring America in.

Vote for Peace

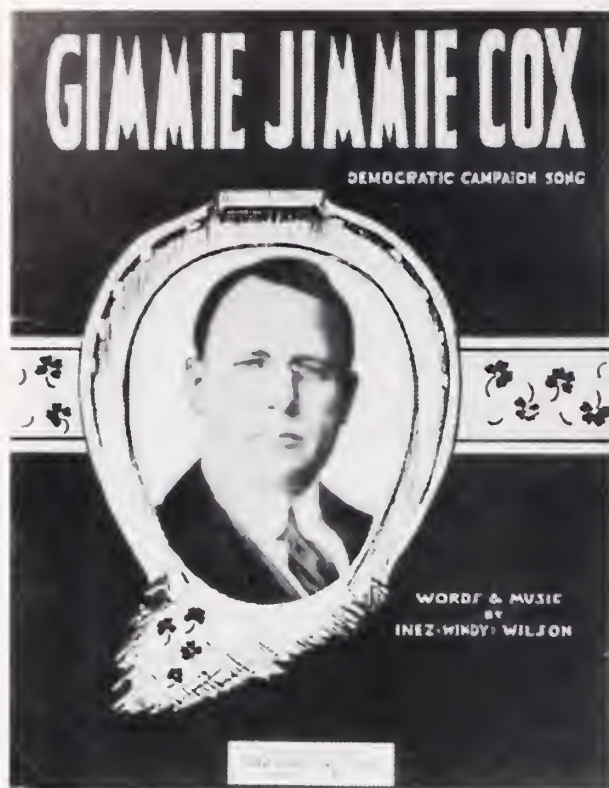
Vote for COX and ROOSEVELT

Issued by Women's Bureau, Democratic National Committee

© 1921



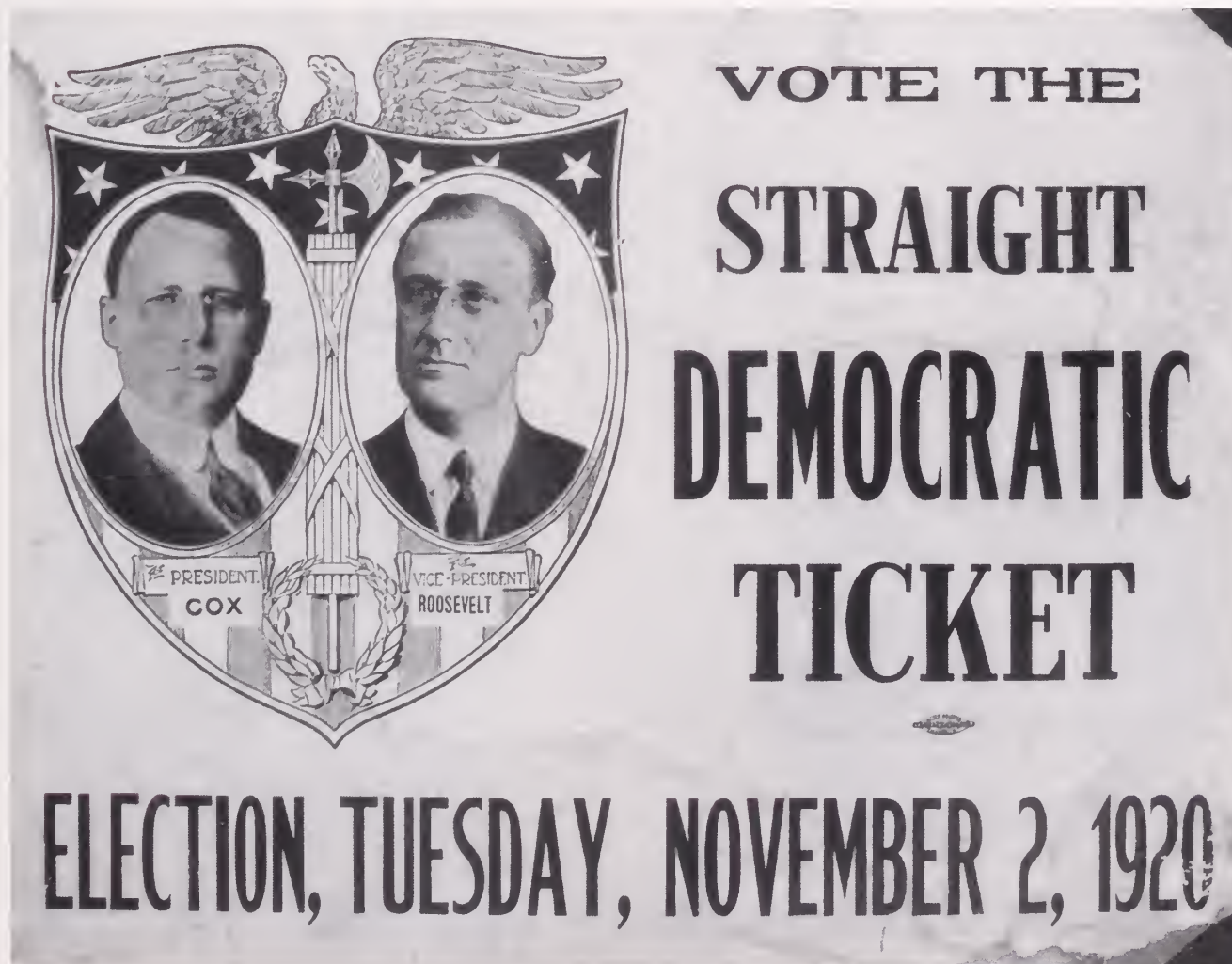
This newspaper ad (top, reduced) and sticker (bottom, enlarged) reflect the emphasis on the League of Nations.

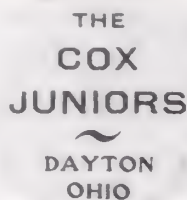


The small metal studs with the rooster (a symbol of the Democratic Party, especially in the South, which was particularly popular for a candidate named Cox) are among the Cox items more available to collectors. There are three versions pictured. The version on the left has "We Will Crow in November" on the rim but nothing on the rooster. In the center, the rooster has "Cox" on its chest. The version on the right combines both messages. Below the studs are two metal finger rings (shown enlarged) from Gary Cohen's collection and below them is a jigsaw puzzle of Cox's face. On the left of the page (top) is sheet music and (bottom) a button from the notification ceremony. The button is courtesy of David Frent.



Above is a postcard showing Governor James Cox touring his state during the Great Flood of 1913. Below is a Cox-Roosevelt jugate poster boosting the Democratic cause from the collection of Robert Fratkin.





Cox in Ohio

By Michael Kelly

Every national politician starts somewhere. No matter how powerful they become or how large their legacy looms in history, each of them started sitting at a kitchen table talking with ordinary people. James M. Cox is no exception.

He was born on March 31, 1870, the youngest of seven children. He was a descendent of Samuel S. Cox (known as "Sunset" Cox) who had the unusual distinction of serving in the U.S. House of Representatives from Ohio for eight years and then - starting four years later — in the U.S. House from New York for twenty years. James Cox recalls an incident in his 1912 campaign for governor when a local official introduced him to a meeting as "another Sunset Cox." An Irishman arose and dissented, "No, begorra, this is *Sunrise* Cox."

Along with the hard work of a late 19th century childhood on what was even then not far removed from the frontier, Cox recalled the entertainment provided by partisan politics:

"I was first conscious of it in 1880, during the Garfield-Hancock campaign. A boys' club was organized. Its members went on parade a number of times. They wore cloaks of gaily-colored oilcloth and caps with torches attached. Then in the corn-harvesting period of 1884 we were much distracted by the uncertainty over the presidential election. In the fields we would hear the Republican cannon of two shots to be followed soon afterwards by the Democratic explosion of a single shot. Feeling ran high. The Democrats, stirred by their belief that the presidency had been stolen from them in 1876, became very militant."

Cox related a particularly good story about that election, which featured a spirited contest between James

Blaine and Grover Cleveland. In a scandal with some modern echoes, Blaine supporters pointed out that Cleveland had fathered an illegitimate child with a widow named Maria Halpin. According to Cox: "At the county seat a Democratic organization known as The Miami Club paraded at midday with white plug hats and gray coats, singing as they went down the street:

'Hurrah for Maria, hurrah for the kid,

We voted for Grover and we're damned glad we did.'"

James Cox went on to prosper through hard work and ambition. He entered the field of journalism and wound up as the publisher of the *Dayton Daily News*. At the age of 38, the seasoned editor decided to enter electoral politics. It was 1908 and a split in the Republican ranks offered the Democrats an opportunity to win the third district congressional seat. District demographics gave special weight to the Dayton area, leaving Cox in a prime position.

As publisher of the largest newspaper in the district, with a record of strong support for numerous Democratic candidates, Cox was widely favored as district Democrats gathered in convention to choose a congressional nominee. Sensing victory, the party's gubernatorial candidate, Judson Harmon, spoke on Cox's behalf. He was nominated without opposition.



This James M. Cox for Congress button (shown enlarged) may be faded but it is still a rarity. For some Cox congressional ribbons see page 46.

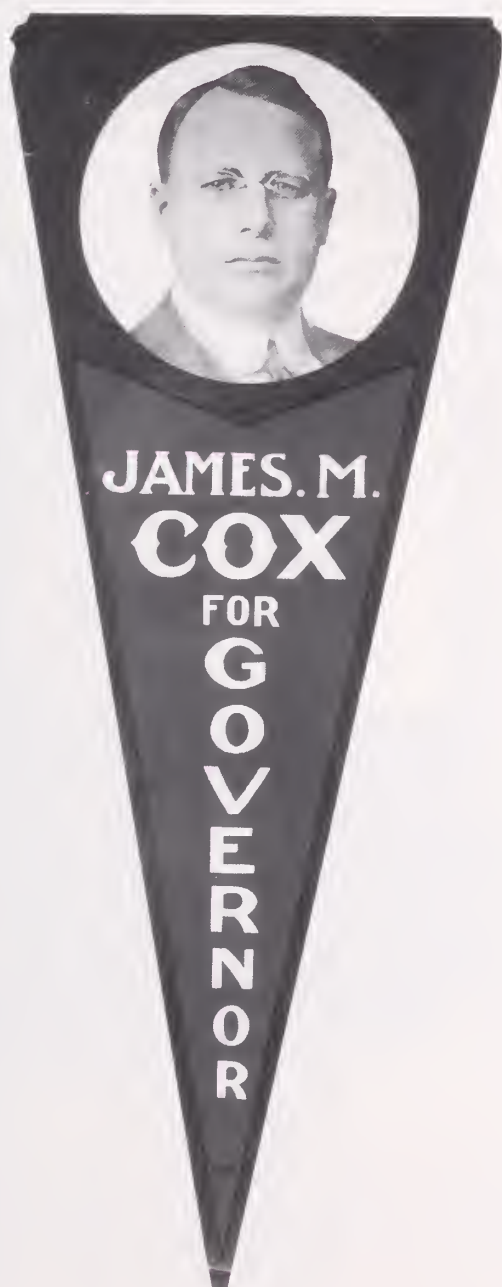
GOVERNOR



JAMES M. COX



Button (enlarged) and RWB paper pennant (reduced).



His formal campaign opened at a rally in Dayton featuring the party's presidential nominee, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan praised Cox as having "great forces of character...in accord with the principles of Democracy...who through his newspapers has contributed enormously to the Democratic cause." The Great Commoner made it plain to his listeners; "I personally desire the election of James M. Cox as a member of the next House of Representatives."

The campaign was spirited. Every parade featured "the Cox Juniors," a drum corps comprised of *Daily News* delivery boys. Historian James Cebula described the campaign: "The candidate shook hands on street corners and spoke to workers as they lunched or changed shifts. He addressed ward political clubs, park and tent meetings, ethnic clubs, and the Soldiers Home veterans...perhaps Cox's strategy simply reflected, on a lower level, the efforts of Bryan to build a farmer-worker coalition on the national level. Nevertheless, personalities and the specific nature of election districts generally dictated the conduct of local campaigns, and such was the case in the third district. The strategy worked."

Running in a four-way race (including two Republicans and a Socialist) Cox barely fell short of an overall majority with 49.8% and had 32,524 votes to the second place candidate, incumbent Congressman John Harding (no relation to Warren) with 19,306. That gave him a plurality of 13,218 and a seat in Congress.

1908 proved to be an interesting year for Ohio politics; Cox was elected to Congress, Judson Harmon was elected Governor, Congressman Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati was named Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and William Howard Taft was elected President. 1910 was a much different story for many of those involved. A strong Democratic tide was moving against President Taft, and Congressman Cox was easily re-elected in what had previously been a Republican district, while Governor Harmon won a sweeping re-election that placed him in the top rank of Democratic hopefuls for the 1912 presidential nomination.

Returning to Congress, Cox joined his Democratic colleagues in happily electing Champ Clark Speaker and Oscar W. Underwood majority leader. Cox earned a spot on the key Appropriations Committee and found himself the subject of speculation about his political future.

But there was no shortage of political speculation as 1912 approached. Cox later wrote, "as preparations for the 1912 campaign began, my private hopes were that Woodrow Wilson would gain the Democratic nomination. I first met Wilson at a banquet at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington, where he spoke alongside Champ Clark, Harmon and Hearst, and his intellectual superiority was evident. Publicly, nearly all Ohio Democrats were compelled by state and personal loyalty to support Harmon, who would have made a good candidate...But Wilson, who was clearly much more in harmony with the progressive trend, had caught my imagination." Cox's judgement would be vindicated when Wilson defeated Harmon, Champ Clark and others for the presidential nomination.

Back in Ohio, however, Harmon was not seeking re-election and the Democrats had to choose a candidate to hold the state house. With a Bull Moose state ticket in the race as well as a Republican, signs of an impending Democratic victory were strong. Given the optimistic



Ohio Democrats clearly took pride in holding the state house. There is a wide variety of Cox inaugural material surviving, much of it very elaborate. Button (top left) is enlarged while the two ribbons (bottom left) are reduced.

omens, there was no shortage of candidates. Yet, when the roll call came at the Ohio State Democratic Convention, James M. Cox was the unanimous choice for governor.

The Republicans put up another Ohio publisher as their gubernatorial nominee (foreshadowing 1920's battle), Walter Brown. The Progressives added Arthur Garford as their candidate. In September 1912, Woodrow Wilson came to Columbus to join Cox in opening the Democratic campaign, an event that may be the source of the Wilson/Cox jugate (although the two Democrats would share the ticket again in 1916). With the opposition split and rivalry between President Taft and former President Roosevelt at its most bitter in Taft's home state of Ohio, Cox was an easy victor. Cox ran ahead of Wilson, who carried Ohio, in a triumphant personal victory.

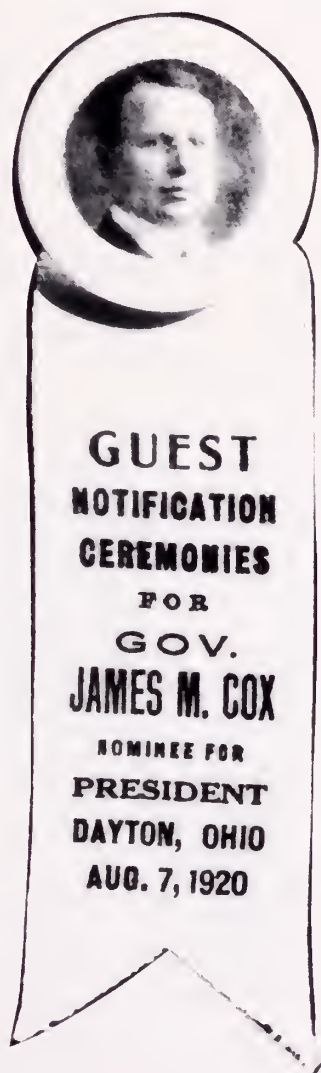
Governor Cox's first administration was busy and progressive. He oversaw the implementation of a new state constitution and directed relief efforts during the disastrous floods of 1913. Nonetheless, the reformist governor managed to ruffle more than a few feathers among old-line Democrats. In the state's first direct primary, Governor Cox found himself challenged for the Democratic nomination by Canton Congressman John

Whitacre. Although Cox defeated his primary challenger by a two-to-one margin, he entered the general election contest with Republican Congressman Frank Willis weakened by a divided Democracy.

Despite fielding James Garfield, son of the late President from Ohio, as its gubernatorial nominee, the Progressive Party was clearly fading fast. The Progressives did manage, however, to draw some of the progressive aura away from Cox. Many voters seemed weary with the numerous changes during Cox's term as well as the patronage-heavy Democratic party organization. Republicans fanned anti-Catholic feelings to hurt the Democrats and Democrats encouraged anti-Negro prejudice to harm the Republicans. In the end, Willis won a solid victory, dealing Governor Cox his first defeat.

It didn't take Jim Cox long to pull himself together and win vindication. Two years later, he was back in the field for governor. Brushing aside primary opposition, Cox entered the 1916 campaign with the advantage of non-incumbency. Now it was Governor Willis who had to explain any problems with state government.

Once again, Cox was strongly supportive of President Wilson's presidential candidacy and managed a narrow



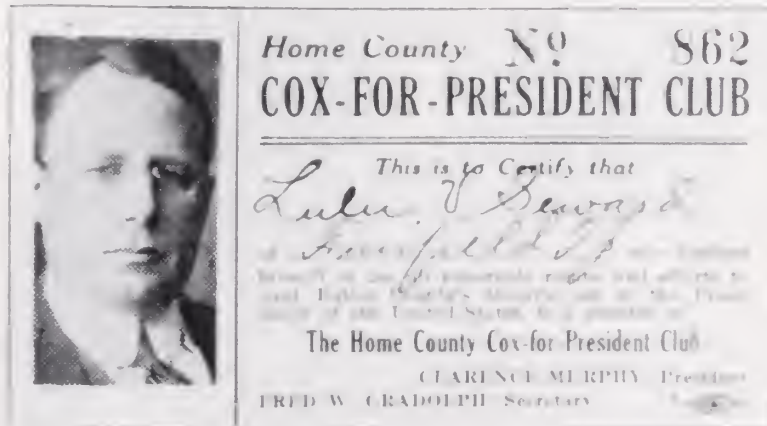
Badges with ribbons celebrating the Cox nomination are often very handsome items.

victory in his race, helped by Wilson's coattails. It was the first time the Democrats swept Ohio in a two-party race since 1856. Ohio was crucial to Wilson's narrow victory and Cox pointed out with pride that "its is a matter of record that our paper in Dayton, the *News*, was the first in the country in a special edition to claim Wilson's victory."

With advent of World War I, James Cox had to assume the special role of war governor. Each state had a draft quota to fill and Ohio's was 687,000. Aside from providing men to the war, Ohio had to organize its industry, agriculture, commerce, capital and labor to support the war effort. It was a very difficult time with many conflicting interests to balance but Cox succeeded admirably.

When the election of 1918 arrived, he faced his old nemesis, former Governor Frank Willis, for a third time. Despite a nationwide Republican tide in reaction against President Wilson's attempt to equate Democratic votes with patriotism, Governor Cox managed another victory. Beating the Republican sweep in a state that was seen as "the state of presidents" automatically made Cox a leading contender for the 1920 presidential nomination.

Cox's served the state of Ohio well. As a newspaper publisher, congressman and three-term governor he proved to be a popular and effective political leader. It is no surprise that the Democrats of Ohio rallied behind their governor when it came time for the 1920 Democratic National Convention.★



This Cox button carries an Ohio buckeye. The blotter below is shown reduced. The luggage tag in the center was attached later.



James M. Cox and the Wright Brothers



As the congressman from Dayton, Ohio, James Cox was well aware of the two bicycle repairmen tinkering on air flight in his hometown. In our current era of almost instantaneous technological change, it is hard to fully appreciate the impact of what Wilbur and Orville Wright accomplished when they built a machine that could fly.

"The spectacle will probably never have its parallel in the history of our country," Cox enthused decades later. On July 30, 1909, the Wright Brothers brought their airplane to the nation's capitol for a demonstration before military and political leaders. As Cox wrote in his autobiography, "President Taft, Vice President Sherman and every member of the cabinet, of the Senate, the House and the Supreme Court that was in Washington and able to be present, was there." The subsequent triumph gave Dayton's congressman tremendous pride and he happily associated himself with his famous constituents.

One of the finest buttons in the Cox Enterprises collection is from the Wrights' heroic homecoming to Dayton. "Welcome Home - Dayton, O. June 1909," it proclaims, "Wright Brothers - Kings of the Air." Below a drawing of Orville Wright at the controls of the airplane was the legend "Compliments of James M. Cox."

On August 19, 1940, James M. Cox spoke at the dedication of the Wright Memorial in Dayton, invited by Orville to deliver the main address. Despite his terms in congress, as governor of Ohio, his race for the Presidency



Former Governor Cox was the main speaker at the dedication of the Wright Brothers Memorial in Dayton, Ohio.

and his great success in the communications industry, James M. Cox was still proud to be the Wright Brothers' neighbor from Dayton, Ohio. ★

LEADING UPWARD

The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace.

The Safeguard of Business

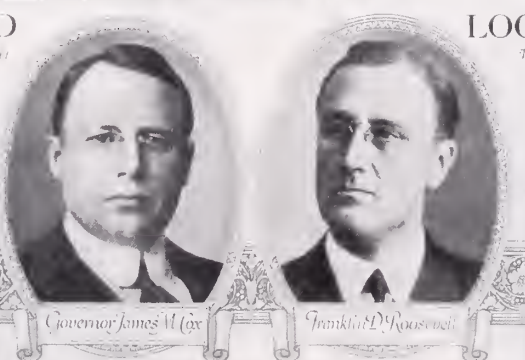
The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.



What Cox and Roosevelt Stand For

"We advocate the immediate ratification of the Treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League Associates." —Democratic Platform.

"President Wilson, as our representative at the peace table, entered the League in our name in so far as the executive authority permitted. Senator Harding, as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, proposes in plain words that we remain out of it. As the Democratic candidate, I favor going in." —Governor Cox's Speech of Acceptance.



Governor Cox's Record in Ohio

Among the things Governor Cox has done for Ohio are:

• He has advocated and gotten passed as Governor of Ohio:

• Elimination of Sunday laws.

• Better labor working conditions.

• Establishment of child labor laws.

• Compulsory education laws.

• Abolition of the death penalty.

• Creation of a state board of health.

• Creation of a state board of education.

• Creation of a state board of agriculture.

Justice for Ex-Soldiers

The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

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The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

LOOKING FORWARD

The Democratic Party, on its Record of National Reform—Asks Your Vote for Cox and Roosevelt

Nine Reasons for Voting for Cox and Roosevelt

1. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

2. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

3. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

4. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

5. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

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9. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

10. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

11. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

12. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

13. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

14. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

15. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

16. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

17. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

18. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

19. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

20. The American people have seen the world's greatest war. They have seen the world's greatest peace. They have seen the world's greatest business. They have seen the world's greatest industry. They have seen the world's greatest progress. They have seen the world's greatest future.

Standing Squarely for World Peace, Through the League of Nations, for Cox and Roosevelt Deserve the Votes of All Who Favor Progress Over Reaction and General Prosperity Above Private Interest

Democratic National Committee

Democratic National Committee



HON. JAMES M. COX

The 1920 Democratic Convention

By Michael Kelly



JAMES M. COX

Democrats had never opened their national convention with a set of circumstances like those they faced in 1920. Not since President Andrew Jackson summoned the second Democratic National Convention to Baltimore in 1835 had a president completing his second consecutive term headed the party. Back then, President Jackson called the convention in order to bless his handpicked successor, Vice President Martin VanBuren. This time, the crippled President Woodrow Wilson deliberately hampered any candidate seeking to replace him. Wilson apparently believed that the delegates would share his personal evaluation of his value to the nation and choose him for a third term by acclamation, despite the fact that he was barely able to function.

There were candidates from his administration, however. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer had used the Red Scare of 1919 to bolster his reputation as a strong

leader. Former Treasury Secretary William Gibbs McAdoo was recognized as a man of great skill (and was Wilson's son-in-law – a fact that did not help him win his father-in-law's support).

The San Francisco convention marked the first time a national convention for one of the two major parties had been held west of the Rockies. For the first time in a generation, the party had no dominant figure; both William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson had lost much of their power (if little of their ambition). Wilson's opposition to any potential candidate meant that the field was wide open with no fewer than 24 candidates receiving votes on the first ballot. McAdoo led the first ballot with 266 votes but that was a far cry from the 729 votes needed to win the two-thirds majority then required for the Democratic nomination. Palmer was close behind with 254 votes followed by Cox at 134 and New York's Al Smith with 109.

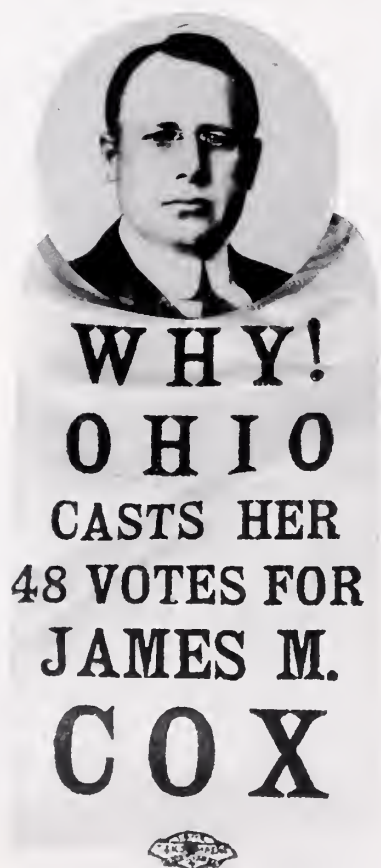
The two Wilson administration figures were leading the pack but a majority of Democratic leaders were determined to select a candidate not directly affiliated with the President. Cox soon emerged as the "outsider" option. In addition, the city machines resented McAdoo's support for prohibition and approved of Cox's support for modification of the strict rules against consumption of alcohol (leading to at least two different buttons carrying the phrase "Cox and Cocktails").

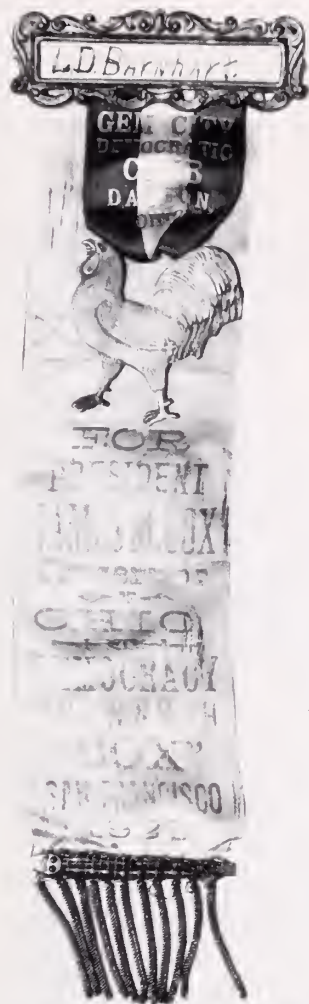
Cox slowly gained on McAdoo, pulling past Palmer when New York switched from Smith and New Jersey abandoned Edward Edwards. By the tenth ballot the field had sharply narrowed and the vote was McAdoo 385, Cox 321, Palmer 257 and the balance divided among four remaining contenders. On the twelfth ballot Cox moved ahead of McAdoo 404 to 375.

But in those days, a Democratic convention was not so easily decided. On the 30th ballot, McAdoo pulled past Cox again 403 to 400. The two leaders jockeyed for several more ballots. On the 39th ballot, Cox went back into first place 468 to McAdoo's 440. By the 42nd ballot, Cox was only four votes shy of a majority (but a fair away from the needed two-thirds). The 43rd ballot gave Cox a majority with 568. On the 44th ballot, states began switching votes in earnest and soon the convention nominated the Ohio governor by acclamation.

So the stage was set for November: the Governor of Ohio versus the U.S. Senator from Ohio, both newspaper publishers. As columnist Franklin P. Adams put it:

Harding or Cox?
Harding or Cox?
You tell us, populi;
You've got the vox.





"Coxsure"



The card above was from a Cox railroad trip from Marion. In accordance with the tradition of the times, neither nominee spoke at the convention. Each candidate's formal campaign began with a notification ceremony. On the right side of this page are invitations to the two ceremonies, which took place two days apart; Cox in Dayton on Saturday and Roosevelt in Hyde Park the following Monday.



The honor of your presence is requested at the ceremonies attending the notification to

Governor James M. Cox

of his nomination as Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States to be held at Dayton, Ohio

on Saturday, August the seventh
nineteen hundred and twenty
at two o'clock

Democratic National Committee

George H. White, Chairman

Committee on Notification

Joseph T. Robinson, Chairman

Committee on Arrangements

J. Sprigg McMahon, Chairman

The honor of your presence is requested at the ceremonies attending the notification to

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

of his nomination as Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States to be held at Hyde Park, New York

on Monday, August nine
nineteen hundred and twenty
at three o'clock

Democratic National Committee

George H. White, Chairman

Committee on Notification

Komer S. Cummings, Chairman

Committee on Arrangements

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Chairman



The San Francisco convention was the first time a major party had held its national convention west of the Rocky Mountains. The leading candidates at the opening of the convention were William Gibbs McAdoo and A. Mitchell Palmer. The full page convention piece is courtesy of David Frent.



In the Limelight

Important Men and Buildings

Democratic National Convention

San Francisco :: 1920

Women of America!

You are interested in the election of
Cox and Roosevelt

Nominees for President and Vice-President of the United States

For it means PERMANENT PEACE, PROGRESS, PROSPERITY and the Recognition of Women's Value as Citizens of the Republic. Their records as officials and constructive Nationalism, and the platform upon which they seek the support of the men and women of the Nation, guarantee their continued adherence to principles that will safeguard Home and Country.



KEEPING THE FAITH

*"If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though purpled in
the floor of fields."*

With the same heart as the men who fought with us in the trenches, the women of America are now fighting for the same principles. They are the backbone of the campaign, the ones who keep the faith when the men are away. Only by their support can the principles of the League of Nations be secured, the principles of peace and progress.

Leadership, which President Wilson gave us, is the only way to peace. It is the only way to the League of Nations. It is the only way to the principles of peace and progress. It is the only way to the principles of the League of Nations.



THEY WILL LEAD,

THEY WILL LEAD,



Fall in with makers

Governor James M. Cox of Ohio has become the pacemaker of the Presidential campaign



NOT LAG!

the Pace-of Progress



FORWARD VISION

TAX REVISION

The income tax is the only one that has been revised since 1913. It is the only one that has been revised since 1913. It is the only one that has been revised since 1913.

RATIFICATION FIRST DUTY



DISABLED SOLDIERS

The disabled soldiers of the World War are the only ones who have not been given the same treatment as the other veterans. They are the only ones who have not been given the same treatment as the other veterans.

FDR IN 1920

By Michael Kelly

As 1920 approached, FDR was a rising star in Democratic politics. Obviously benefiting from the name made famous by his uncle, Theodore Roosevelt, the "Democratic Roosevelt" followed TR's career path. He spent a spell as a maverick reformer in the New York state legislature, held the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy during World War I and was boosted for various offices including governor and U.S. Senator. In *FDR: the Beckoning of Destiny*, historian Kenneth Davis reports that during 1920 "there was even a minor 'Roosevelt for President' boom, some of whose organized manifestations he felt obliged to discourage."

One of FDR's old school friends, Louis Wehle (best known as the general counsel for the War Finance Corporation) promoted the proposal that the Democratic ticket for 1920 should be Herbert Hoover for President and Franklin D. Roosevelt for Vice President. At the time, Hoover was yet to declare a party preference. One can enjoy the irony of such a suggestion in light of later animosity between the two men and wonder whether any "Hoover/Roosevelt" material was ever produced.

FDR went to the 1920 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco backing New York Governor Al Smith. When Smith faded, Roosevelt shifted his support to William Gibbs McAdoo and appeared ready to



1 1/4" button

move to West Virginia's John Davis (eventually the nominee in 1924) in case the convention deadlocked. Meanwhile, his friends were quietly promoting his name as a vice presidential choice even as the presidential race was still under way.

His support for Cox's rivals didn't seem to harm his chances after the Ohio governor's victory. It may even have helped to make it appear as if Cox was reaching out to balance the ticket. Representing New York's huge block of votes was an important factor and the magic Roosevelt name certainly didn't hurt.

The decision to pick FDR came directly from Governor Cox. In his autobiography, *Journey Through My Years*, he describes it this way:

"There was no radio in those days and I received the returns at the News office in Dayton over the telegraph. The nomination was made at 1:50 am, Tuesday, July 6. That was 4:50 am in Dayton. Dawn had broken when I reached home....Awaiting me there was a telephone call from [his convention manager Ed] Moore. The delegations were inquiring of him my preference for vice-president. I told him I had given the matter some thought and that my choice would be Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York. Moore inquired, 'Do you know him?' I did not. In fact, so far as I knew, I had never seen him: but I explained to Mr. Moore that he met the geographical requirement, that he was recognized as an Independent and that Roosevelt was a well-known name. I knew that his relations with the organization in his state [Tammany Hall] were not friendly...This made it necessary for Mr. Moore to consult Charles F. Murphy, head of New York's organization, explaining to him what had moved me to this selection, but saying that if it were offensive, we would abandon the idea and go to Edward T. Meredith of Iowa."

Waking Murphy out of a sound sleep, Moore delivered Cox's message. The surprised Tammany leader replied, "I don't like Roosevelt. He is not well known in the country but, Ed, this is the first time a Democratic nominee for the presidency has shown me courtesy. That's why I would vote for the devil himself if Cox wanted me to."

For FDR, the vice presidential nomination was almost miraculous. Overnight he had become a national figure. Returning to New York from San Francisco, he made hurriedly scheduled campaign stops in Utah, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri and Ohio, meeting with local Democratic leaders to plan strategy. In Salt Lake City, he announced that he planned a strenuous public campaign



James M. Cox and Franklin Delano Roosevelt consult on the campaign trail in 1920.

Cox/Roosevelt
jugate lapel pin
(shown enlarged).

Veterans Cox-Roosevelt Clubs

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
MURRAY HILL HOTEL NEW YORK CITY

JOSEPH L. HIEFFERMAN
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WEST VIRGINIA, Parkersburg
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NEW YORK

October 15, 1920

All County Chairmen:

Under separate cover we are sending you some of the most important pamphlets which have yet been issued from National Headquarters.

If properly distributed among the service men in your county they will exert enough influence to turn the election.

In order to save money we are sending the pamphlets to you flat. They should be folded, however, like the one enclosed. Get your buddies to help you; have them folded and then send them out over your county.

IF WE SPREAD THE TRUTH WE WILL WIN!

Reports are coming in every day telling of tremendously successful meetings held by service men. A change of sentiment is sweeping the country. The American people are going to keep faith with our dead.

Watch out for these pamphlets. Get them over your county as much as you can. If you can raise money have pamphlets like them printed in your town. Get newspapers to comment on them.

Here is our great opportunity to defeat the forces of reaction. The hope of this country lies in the men who could preserve at the ballot box what our buddies died for in France.

A mass of propaganda fails to hide the ideal for which they died, and we pledge our sacred honor that they shall not have died in vain.

Melvin D. Hildreth
Executive Secretary

COX

ROOSEVELT

MADE IN U.S.A.

Above: paper tag. Left: campaign letterhead.

in contrast to the "front porch affair" that Warren Harding had planned.

In Columbus, Ohio he met with Governor Cox for the first time. The two politicians appraised each other — each through a pair of "pince-nez" spectacles — and liked what they saw. Cox later described FDR as "keenly alive to the conditions that would bear on the campaign" but declined Roosevelt's suggestion that they announce that the vice president would sit with the cabinet. The two Democrats did agree, however, that there would be no effort to avoid running on the record of the Wilson administration and Cox invited his running mate to join him in visiting the President at the White House the coming Sunday. [See "Wilson and Cox" elsewhere in this issue].

But before the trip to Washington, Roosevelt arrived home in New York to a rousing reception. FDR would play an active role in the campaign but faced a chronic shortage of funds. He wound up putting in \$5,000 of his own money (not an insubstantial sum in 1920) and his mother added another \$3,000 to get the campaign rolling. However money would remain a concern right through election day. Between August 11 and election day he traveled incessantly. Historian Kenneth Davis described it thus:

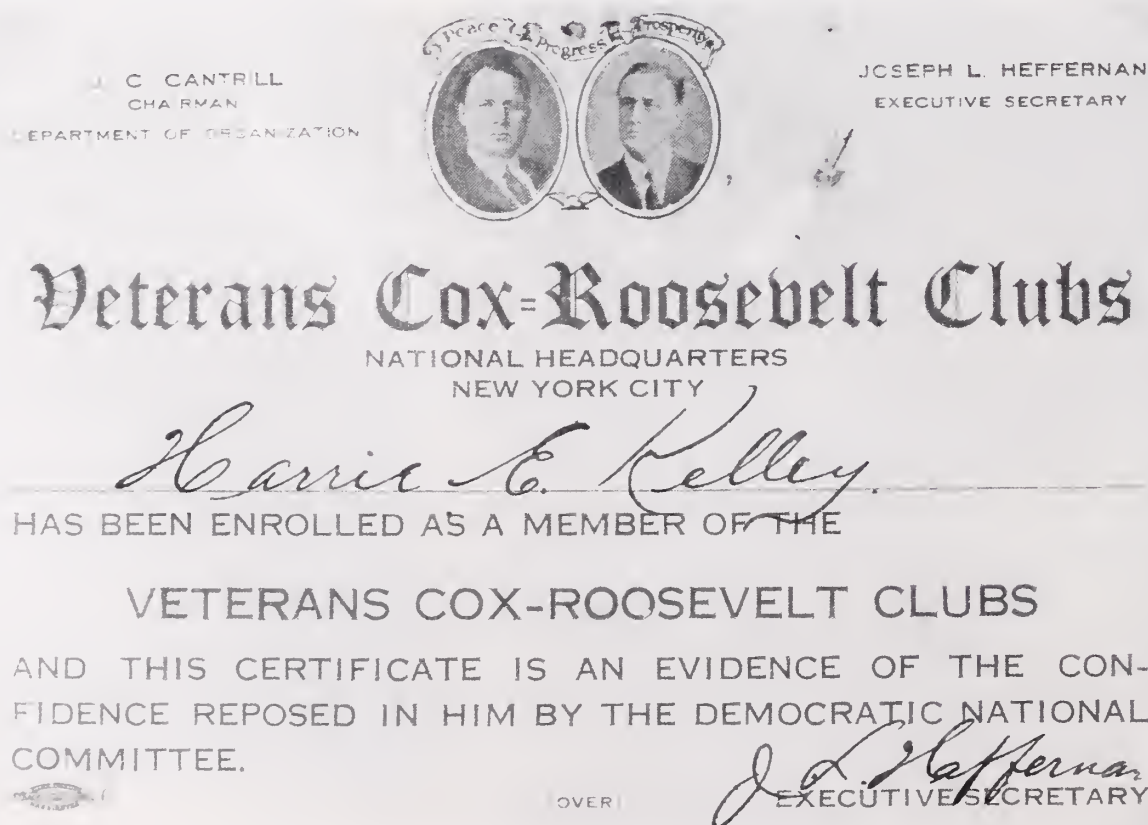
"In two long speaking tours of the Midwest and west, plus a two-week tour of New England and upstate New York, he appeared in virtually every state outside the South, delivered upwards of a thousand set speeches and innumerable impromptu talks, and met personally with warmth and charm many hundreds of locally important, as well as state and

nationally important, Democrats. As promised, he made the League, concerning which Harding was notably vague and evasive, a central theme of most of his speeches."

His only major blunder of the campaign took place on his first swing through the West. In Butte, Montana, he tried to respond to the complaint that in the League of Nations the United States would have only one vote whereas Great Britain (through its various dominions such as Canada and Australia) would have six votes. It wasn't a problem, he assured his audience, as the U.S. would actually have a dozen votes for "does anyone suppose that the votes of Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, Panama, Nicaragua, and of the other Central American States would be cast differently from the vote of the United States?"

To make matters worse, he went on to tell the crowd: "I have something to do with the running of a couple of little Republics." Even the liberal press blasted Roosevelt, who fell back on a feeble claim to have been misquoted. There had, however, been too many witnesses for his claim to hold up.

But the flub would have little effect on what was already an uphill campaign. The Cox-Roosevelt ticket went down to a crushing defeat. Nonetheless, the 1920 campaign had introduced Franklin Delano Roosevelt to a generation of Democrats from one end of the nation to the other. The friends, contacts and familiarity gained in 1920 would stand him in good stead a dozen years later when the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt would once again be placed in nomination before the Democratic National Convention.★



Membership card from a Cox/Roosevelt veterans club (shown enlarged). After World War I, veterans groups like the American Legion appeared as the aging Civil War veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic were fading away.



Two enamel pins and pocket watch shown enlarged.

THE COLLEGE MAN
stands for
Character and Efficiency



JAMES M. COX



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

COX and ROOSEVELT
Embody These Principles

Work for Them

Vote for Them

FOR REASONS WHY, SEE INSIDE

Cox-Roosevelt College Men's League of the U. S.
ROOM 95, MURRAY HILL HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY

Issued by the Democratic National Committee

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James Cox remained a leader in the Democratic Party for many years. FDR, of course, went on to be the first candidate to win the White House four times. This photo shows Cox (in car on right) with Roosevelt while FDR was President.



The Cox/Roosevelt Jugates

By Michael Kelly and Robert Fratkan



The "Holy Grail" of Political Americana is the Cox/Roosevelt jugate. Not only is it hard to find but a Cox/Roosevelt jugate set the record for the most money ever spent for a political campaign button. It isn't hard to understand the scarcity. Democratic campaigns were chronically sort of money during that era and the prospects for victory in 1920 were too dim to excite extraordinary efforts from party donors. FDR's relative obscurity may also have hampered button manufacturers from producing jugates in normal quantities. But Cox/Roosevelt jugates are hardly the scarcest items in the hobby. There is no shortage of items that appear to be one-of-a-kind, including many handsome items from the previous century. Why does a Cox/Roosevelt jugate draw so much more attention than a McClellan-Pendleton ferrotype from 1864 or a Harrison-Tyler jugate ribbon from 1840?

Myths feed on themselves, of course, and after awhile the talk of how precious an object is adds to its value. The later career of Franklin Roosevelt as the only four-term president, the savior of the Depression and the conqueror of Hitler obviously adds to the mystique. But the Cox/Roosevelt jugate was considered the key collector's item long before Joe Jacobs spent \$33,000 to buy one.

In 1964, at the first APIC National Convention in Hartford, Connecticut, a member paid the unheard of price of \$240 for a 7/8" Whitehead and Hoag sepia-toned Cox/Roosevelt jugate. That doesn't seem like a lot of money today but, to put it in perspective, in 1964 Parker-Davis jugates were under \$5 and Lincoln ferros under \$25; most starting salaries for college graduates were less than \$5000 and a two-bedroom apartment rented for \$100.

This was a watershed moment in political items collecting. Prior to that time, many collectors placed very low values on the items they traded, bought and sold, with little consideration for relative rarity. This one transaction changed the hobby forever and established the Cox & Roosevelt as the most prized item in political collecting. This recognition that any one item could be so significantly more valuable to a collector than any one of the other — frequently more attractive and historically more

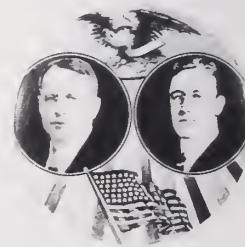
significant — political items forced hobby members to reevaluate their collecting methods and objectives.

For easy reference, the known jugates can be classified by six names. The black and white flag and eagle design with sunrays (which exists in 7/8" and 1 1/4" versions) is referred to as the "St. Louis" design from its manufacturer, the St. Louis Button Company. The sepia-toned buttons (which are actually brown and white) with large pictures above the names are the "Whitehead and Hoag" design. That version comes in three sizes. Three others — "Americanize America," the "Cox-Roosevelt Club" and "Muscogee County" are self-explanatory. The final variety is the Jacobs jugate. The Jacobs jugate is that famous Cox/Roosevelt jugate bought by Joe Jacobs in the 1981 Warner auction for \$33,000. It is 1 1/4" black and white with no words, now part of the Cox collection.

What made a Cox-Roosevelt jugate so valuable? Unlike numismatic collectors, political items collectors seldom think of themselves as seeking to complete a "type set" collection. But many collectors seek to have at least one jugate for each major party candidate. There are four major stumbling blocks to attaining this objective. In order of ascending rarity, they are Harding-Coolidge, TR-Johnson, Davis-Bryan, and — at the top of the pyramid — the always elusive Cox-Roosevelt.

Yet, why should this be so difficult to obtain? After all, there are six varieties in nine sizes known to exist. Where are they? That's the rub. Veteran collectors know of only two instances in which more than one Cox & Roosevelt was found at one time. In the 1970s, three 7/8" Whitehead and Hoag jugates were found in Frederick, Maryland and stories indicate that 30 years ago, a woman in Indiana had between six and eight St. Louis design 7/8" jugates, at least some of which made their way into the hobby. Of the three that were found in Frederick, two were sepia-toned and one was black and white (a tenth variety if we count it separately). The best guess is that most of the known Cox & Roosevelt jugates were distributed as samples.

Historically, button companies sent out sample buttons to local representatives and political officials around the



Cox/Roosevelt jugates: on the left are the three Whitehead & Hoag variations, in the center is the famous Jacobs version, and on the right are the two St. Louis jugates. The St. Louis may be the most attractive design but the modest Jacobs brought the highest price to date.



Two Cox/Roosevelt items from the collection of Steven Cohen. The two 1" buttons are cream and black.

country to obtain orders. As one example, in the 1981 Warner auction, one of the prize pieces was a Davis 1 1/4" picture in a Bryan 1900 silver campaign design made by Whitehead and Hoag—the only one ever seen. Several years later, a collector sent in a Xerox of four Coolidge 7/8" picture buttons, each with a different 1900 McKinley gold border. The collector's grandfather, a Republican Party official in Massachusetts, had been sent the buttons by Whitehead & Hoag in an effort to get his business. Except for this one instance, we have never seen these items appear.

How many Cox-Roosevelt jugates exist? A survey of experienced collectors leads to the conclusion that there are only a total of approximately 80 known Cox & Roosevelt jugates. As best we can determine, they are:

25	7/8"	Whitehead and Hoag sepia/one
1 or 2	7/8"	Whitehead & Hoag black/white
5	5/8"	Whitehead & Hoag sepia/one
3	1 1/4"	Whitehead & Hoag sepia/one
30-35	7/8"	St. Louis design black/white
1	1 1/4"	St. Louis design black/white
5	15/16"	Cox-Roosevelt Club red/white/blue
5	13/16"	Americanize America black/white
1	7/8"	Muscogee County black/white
1	1 1/4"	Warner/Jacobs black/white

So that's it. Cox/Roosevelt jugates sell for the prices they do because there are at least several hundred serious collectors who want to complete their jugate sets and have the economic means to do so. Even they are doomed to

disappointment until one of the 80 comes onto the market. Nine of them are in the Cox Collection and will presumably not be back on the market. That leaves only around 70 possible to acquire. A clear case of supply and demand creating the market. There is a ray of sunshine, however. Somewhere, someday, another Cox & Roosevelt jugate will appear at a flea market or antique shop. It could be yours.

There are, of course, numerous Cox/Roosevelt items besides those precious jugates. The two names and sometimes pictures are found on posters, pamphlets, ribbons, cards, letterhead, stickers, pins and name buttons. There are even a few known Cox/Roosevelt razors, Cox/Roosevelt knives, and Cox/Roosevelt watches. Observers estimate that there are three or less each of the jugate pocketknife, straight razor and pocket watch. However, there are a few small litho name buttons with the reach of almost any collector with a little perseverance.

One of the challenges facing button designers in 1920 was the disparity in the length of the two Democratic nominees' names. With only three letters, Cox is the shortest name ever to appear on a presidential campaign button. On the other hand, Roosevelt's nine letters is triple that length and surpassed among VP hopefuls only by 1844's Theodore Frelinghuysen and 1856's John Breckinridge.

Graphic designers were forced to utilize various stratagems to fit "Cox and Roosevelt" on a button. The most common solution was to print "Cox" in large letters in either the foreground or background while running "Roosevelt" in small letters across the middle of the button. A few attempts tried to fill in the empty spaces on the "Cox" line with "and" but met with only mixed success.

Even FDR himself was concerned about the campaign's buttons. A letter in the files of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park reflects his interest. Dated September 22, 1920, it was written to Roy Godsey, head of the Democratic National Committee's Publicity Bureau. The young vice presidential candidate begged for campaign material as fervently as any teenage button collector.

"Starting with New Jersey on Monday, we are headed out on a long western trip, and I am throwing myself on your mercy. It is imperative we have plenty of literature for this trip — a package at least of everything you have. You know what the more popular ones are, and I will depend on you to see that we are supplied with sufficient quantities of them."

In particular, FDR wanted buttons. He wanted plenty of buttons but showed a distinct preference as to which sort. It wouldn't be too bold to suggest that his feathers may have been a touch ruffled by seeing buttons circulating that didn't include his name.

"We need thousands of buttons — not those damn 'Coxsure Buttons' — but both the other two kinds. This is one of the best ways in the World to get them to individuals, and I wish you would give us a plentiful supply, as they cry for them everywhere we go."

The "other two kinds" of buttons probably referred to the small RWB lithographed buttons that exist with either red or blue backgrounds. These two buttons are the most common available today and are within reach of even beginning collectors. Both versions — and the "Coxsure" button — were made by the J.L. Lynch Company of Chicago and became the mainstays of the Democratic campaign.



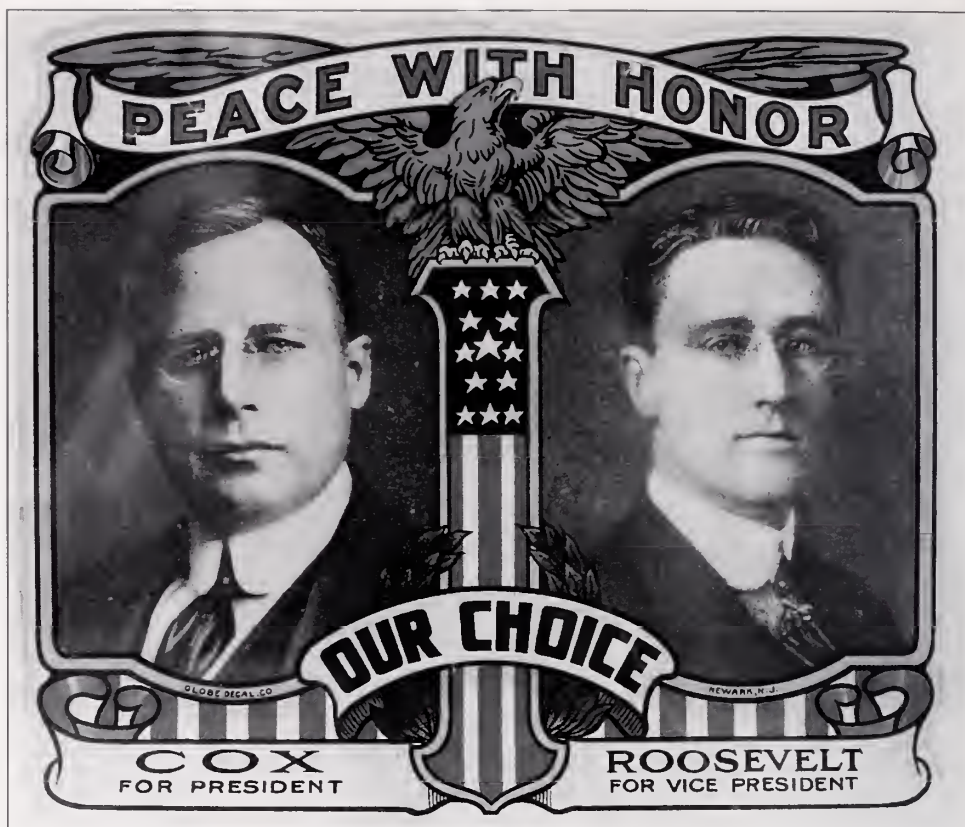
Button designers struggled to balance the short name Cox with the long name Roosevelt. The three 1/2" lithos on the upper right are the most common and obtainable of all Cox/Roosevelt items.

Letters in the library's files also may explain why Cox/Roosevelt jugates are so scarce. The St. Louis Button Company produced many of the finest buttons during that era and sent FDR a letter dated July 19, 1920 that read

"As one of the leading concerns in America specializing in the manufacture of campaign buttons, we will have a large demand this year for buttons bearing the portraits of you and Governor Cox and we find that our files do not include a picture of you, one which will reproduce to the best advantage for campaign button purposes. Will you kindly supply us with a picture?"

Apparently no picture was sent for the files contain another letter from the St. Louis Button Company dated July 31.

"Recently we asked you for your photograph which we can use on campaign buttons. We have on hand orders for thousands of these buttons and cannot fill them until we have your picture. Governor Cox has supplied us with his picture, also Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge, and we are badly in need of your picture to be used on buttons to show portraits of the candidates for President and Vice-President on the Democratic Ticket. Your prompt attention to this request will be very much appreciated."



According to the library files, the photograph was eventually sent on August 4 but the delay may explain why Cox/Roosevelt jugates are so hard to find. With production at least one major manufacturer (and others may have faced the same problem) delayed past the initial rush of enthusiasm, "those damn 'Coxsure Buttons'" may have been the only options for many a loyal Democratic committee.★



Cox/Roosevelt jugate material may be rare but it still comes in many delightful forms. On the upper right is a handsome multicolor window decal. Below are labels from two records, which allowed recordings of campaign speeches to be widely circulated in the days before nationwide radio broadcasts became commonplace.

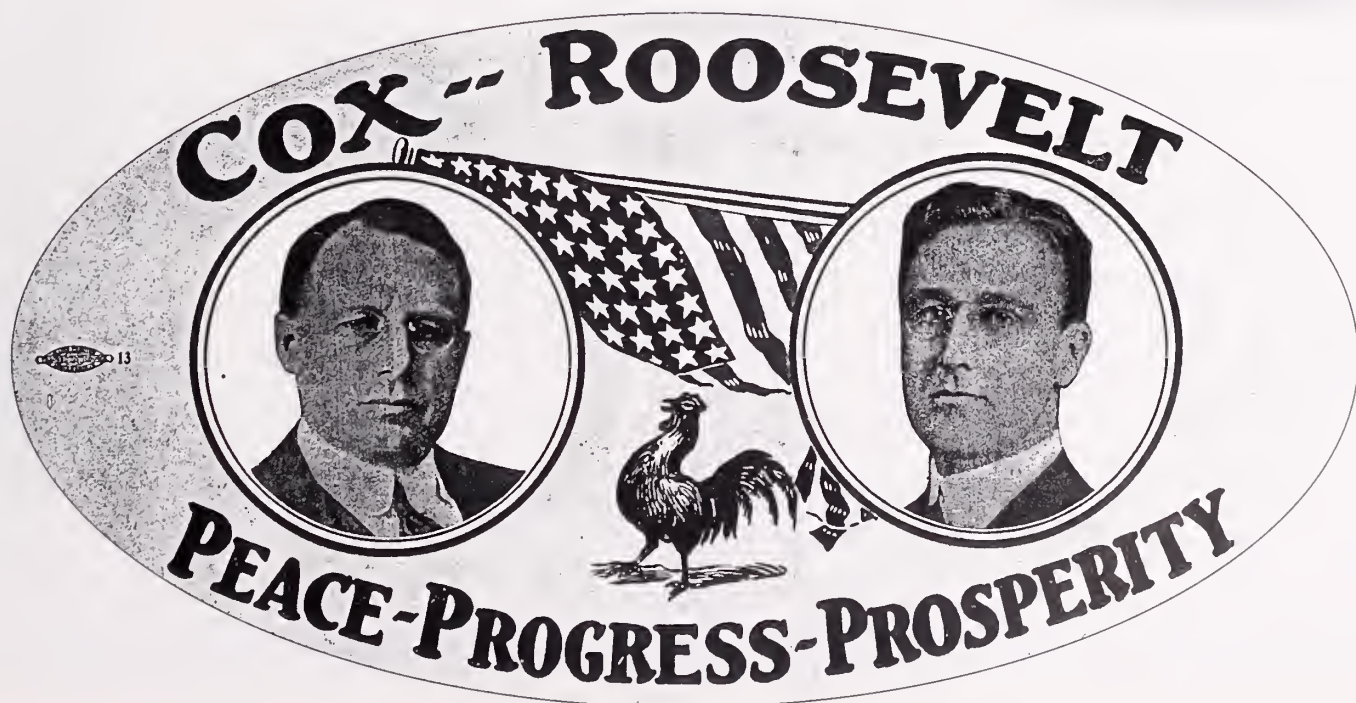


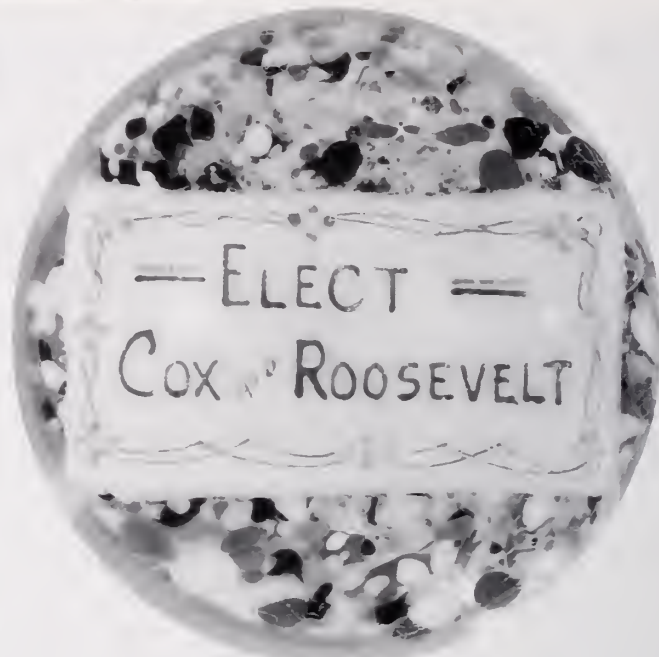
COX
AND
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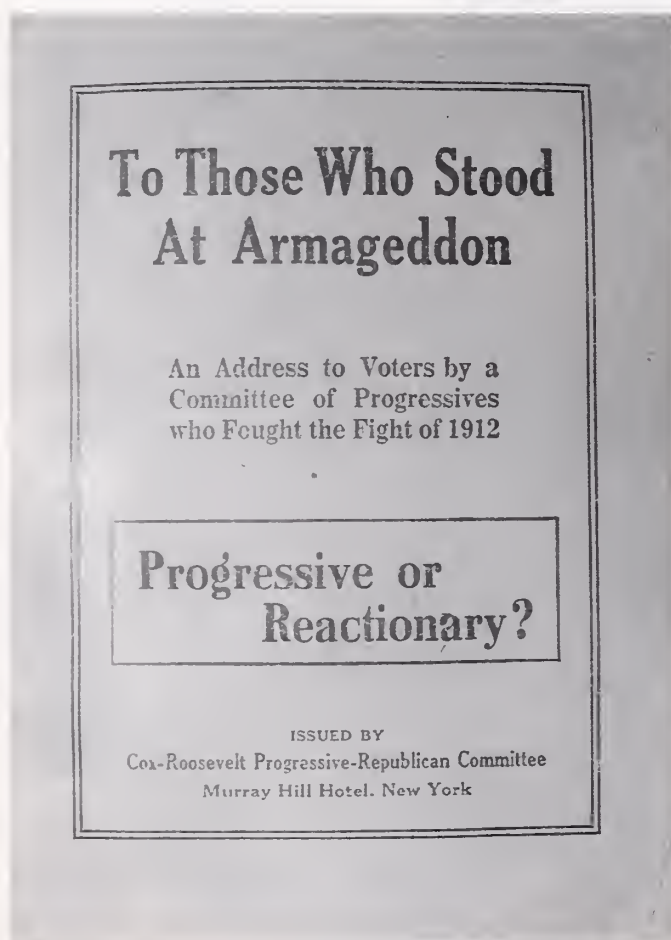
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Above: In 1920, national campaigns were still issuing official campaign books. Right: Campaign ribbon. Below: a handsome jugate window decal from the collection of Tom Huston.

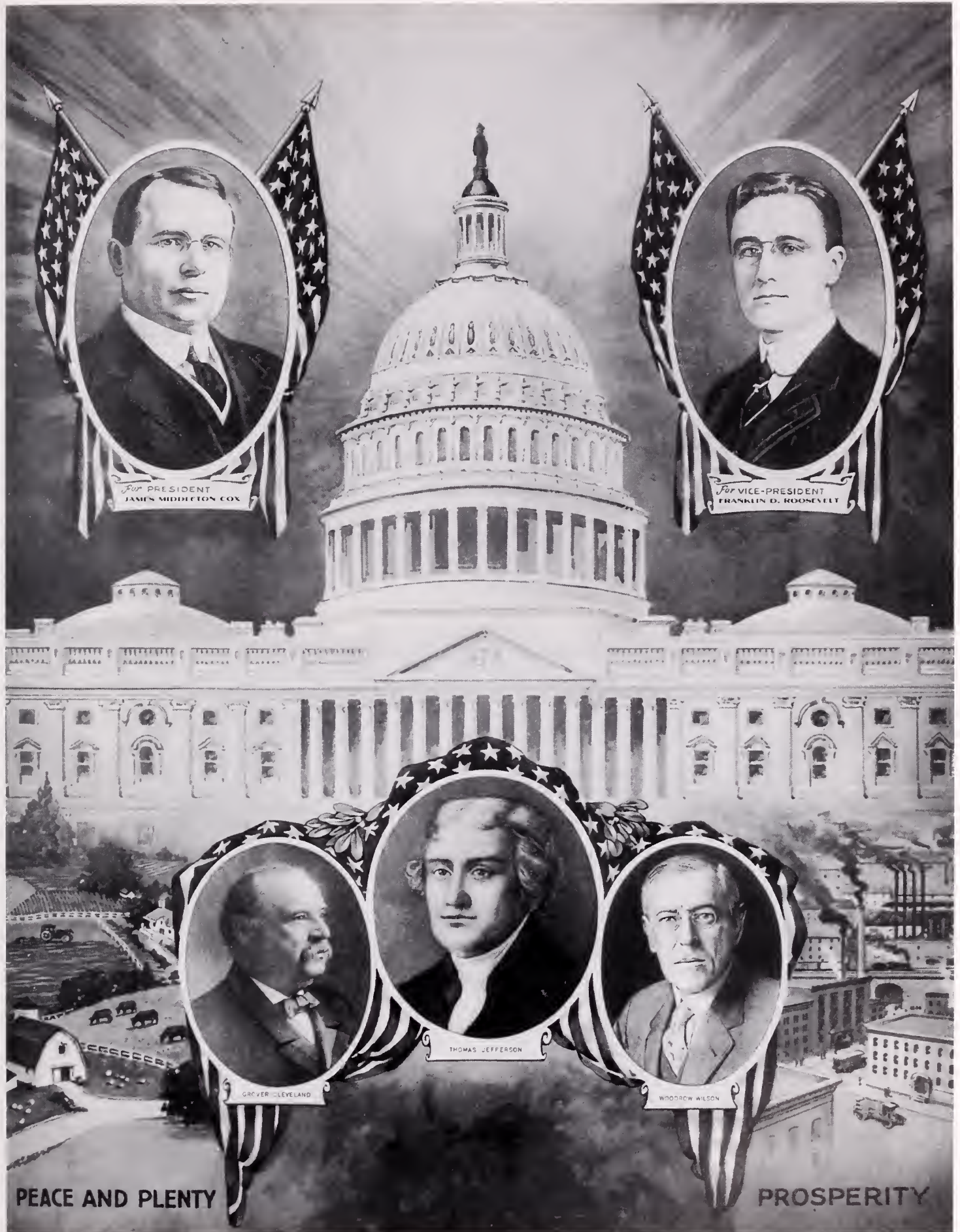




A FANTASY ITEM: This may be the most unusual fake in the hobby – a glass paperweight with the message "Elect Cox and Roosevelt." It was not made for the 1920 campaign.



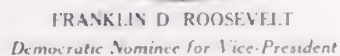
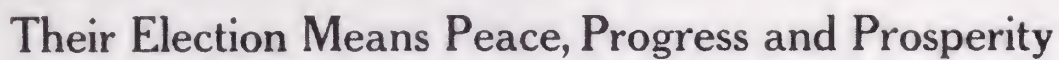
This grouping shows a diversity of Cox/Roosevelt material. Clockwise from the top left: a cloth patch, jackknife, straight razor, three metal lapel pins and brochure. Note the appeal to old Bull Moose Progressives in the brochure. The Democrats aimed to take full advantage of the Roosevelt name on their ticket.





PEACE - PROGRESS - PROSPERITY





Their election means **PEACE, PROGRESS** *and* **PROSPERITY**



GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX
Democratic Nominee for President of the United States




FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Democratic Nominee for Vice-President of the United States

Their Election Means Peace, Progress and Prosperity



James M. Cox
Democratic Nominee for President



Franklin D. Roosevelt
Democratic Nominee for Vice-President



ELECTION: TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1920

Publishers for President

By Michael Kelly

One of the ironies of the 1920 election is the fact that both major party candidates, James Cox and Warren Harding, were newspaper publishers from Ohio. They were part of a small fraternity of publishers to actively seek the White House, although many publishers have had an active interest in politics. Politicians have always tried to influence the media, which meant newspapers until the advent of radio and television in the modern era. In the early days of the Republic, ambitious politicians would often found newspapers to advance their careers but left their daily operations in the hands of professional journalists.

Of the Founding Fathers, only Benjamin Franklin was a publisher. Although he was the most famous American across the world, Franklin never sought the Presidency. He did serve in Congress but never sought higher office.

Perhaps one of the most famous publisher to seek the presidency was Horace Greeley, founder of the *New York Tribune*. Greeley was a leader in the Whig Party before helping to create the Republican Party. In fact, it was Greeley who suggested that the new party emerging from a blend of "Conscience" Whigs, anti-slavery Democrats and

the remnants of the earlier Liberty and Free-Soil parties take on the name "Republican," harkening back to the heyday of Henry Clay's National Republican Party.

Horace Greeley had long harbored electoral ambitions but lacked the political sensibilities of his long-term associates William Seward and Thurlow Weed. It was a party revolt that finally gave Greeley his chance. As the first term of President U.S. Grant foundered on post-Civil War amorality, corrupt office-holders and the frustrations of Reconstruction, the moralistic wing of the party that had led the battle for abolition of slavery grew increasingly uncomfortable with Grant.

With the election of 1872 nearing, Republican leaders like Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner knew that the dispirited Democrats - the party of rebellion and slavery - would be unable to offer Grant much of a fight. Soon a full-scale revolt was under way and a convention was called for Cincinnati to launch a new Liberal Republican Party. The convention was expected to nominate Charles Francis Adams for President. The son of John Quincy Adams and grandson of John Adams, Charles Francis Adams would



Enlarged



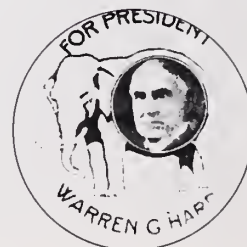
Your advertisement
in this space is bound
to get attention on this
timely folder.

Order now!

1000	\$25.00
2000	45.00
3000	75.00
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Livemore & Knight Co.
Providence, R. I.







Some Greeley items (such as the badge shaped like a quill pen) reflect his role as a publisher. Hearst items aren't hard to find as he lavishly funded his efforts.

bring prestige, heritage and a clear integrity to the new party. As historian Edward Stanwood wrote, at the opening of the Liberal Republican convention "the aspirations of Mr. Greeley were well known but, even when the convention met, the idea of nominating him was treated almost as a joke."

But the delegates from around the country had been reading Horace Greeley's newspaper articles for decades. Greeley might be eccentric and erratic but, in an era when newspapers were often the only contact with the broader world, his readers felt a personal connection with him. Adams led on the first ballot but Greeley was a surprisingly strong second. By the 6th ballot, Adams had faded and the Liberal Republican Party nominated Horace Greeley for President.

Thurlow Weed later wrote to Hamilton Fish, "Six weeks ago I did not suppose that any considerable number of men, outside of a Lunatic Asylum, would nominate Greeley for President." Nonetheless, the Democratic Party, determined to see President Grant defeated anyway possible, soon endorsed Greeley's candidacy.

Greeley shattered precedent by launching an active campaign. Before him, presidential nominees were expected to pretend as if they never really wanted the nomination and weren't really seeking votes in November. They were expected to wait for "The Peoples' Call" that would be reluctantly accepted as a matter of civic duty. Greeley tossed aside the normal way of running for President and took to the road.

James G. Blaine (who loyally backed Grant) later described Greeley's speaking campaign: "His speeches, while chiefly devoted to his view of the duty and policy of pacification, discussed many questions and many phases of the chief question. They were varied, forcible, and well considered. They presented his case with an ability which could not be exceeded, and they added to the general estimate of his intellectual facilities and resources. He called out a larger portion of those who intended to vote against him than any candidate had ever before succeeded in doing. His name had been honored for so many years in every Republican household, that the desire to see and hear him was universal, and secured to him the majesty of numbers at every meeting."

One historian characterized 1872 as "one of the strangest campaigns in history...Republicans excoriated a Republican President; Liberals labored without enthusiasm for a candidate whose choice was intolerable to them; Democrats supported a violent and abusive opponent; ex-Confederates in the South did battle for a foe who had denounced them as traitors and rebels."

In the end, Greeley's arguments proved no match for the dramatic power of the general who had won the Civil War. President Grant carried thirty-one states and Greeley only six, all in the South. Shortly before Election Day, Horace Greeley's wife died. That bitter loss, followed by a crushing election defeat, left him a broken man. Three weeks after the election, Greeley himself died.

After Horace Greeley, it would be many years before a publisher was again a viable presidential hopeful. But when another arrived, he arrived in full array. William Randolph Hearst was the son of a silver magnate. His

father had served as a U.S. Senator from California and left his son a great fortune. William Randolph Hearst took over a failing newspaper belonging to his father and turned it into a national media empire.

Hearst also had political ambitions. His newspapers had always been deeply political; he attacked enemies savagely and praised friends lavishly. But William Randolph Hearst could never overcome the conviction that almost nobody in public office was as smart as himself. His maneuvers for the White House were in earnest by 1902. He wanted to go straight for the Presidency but determined that it would look better if he held local office first.

Although he had previously battled the Democratic Tammany Hall machine, he cut a deal with boss Charles Murphy to win the Democratic nomination in New York City's 11th congressional district, a safe Tammany district. Hearst did not prove to be a very effective congressman. He often missed sessions and managed to quickly alienate leaders of both parties. Although he often proposed useful legislation, his arrogance angered so many of his colleagues that legislation with his name on it would never become law.

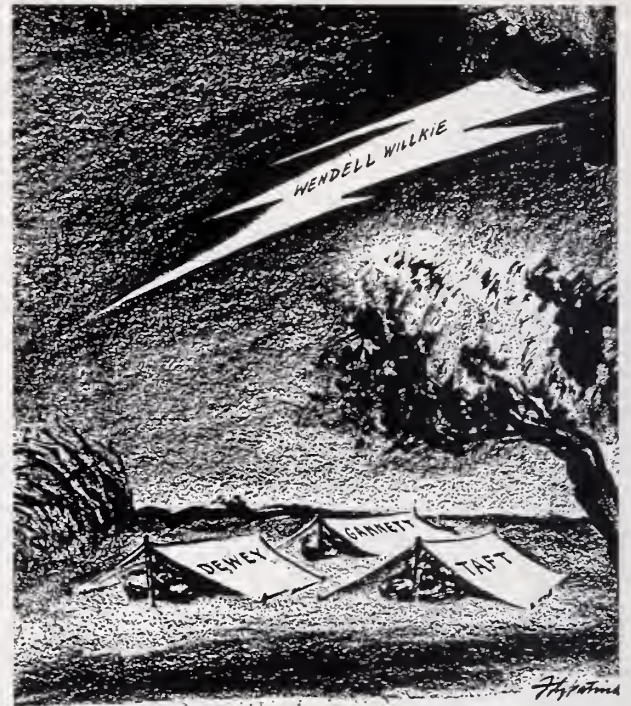
He did lease a handsome dwelling right across the street from the White House (so he wouldn't have far to move when elected President) and was willing to spend money freely. That latter quality has always had a strong impact in politics and the Hearst for President campaign began to gather support. He was helped by a weak Democratic field in the face of the overwhelming popularity of incumbent Republican President Theodore Roosevelt, but Hearst was personally able to stir up genuine enthusiasm among grassroots Democrats.

Hearst arrived at the 1904 Democratic National Convention with a large number of delegates and strong backing from organized labor. Clarence Darrow seconded his nomination and the floor demonstration made it clear that his support was widespread and genuine. On the first ballot, he ran second with 200 votes. Hearst's problem, however, was William Jennings Bryan. Twice defeated but still dreaming of the White House, Bryan feared that a Hearst success would overturn Bryan's leadership of the Democrats' progressive wing. Bryan undercut Hearst, allowing the nomination to go to a colorless conservative jurist, Alton B. Parker, who was destined to be defeated by TR in a landslide.

Hearst would continue to struggle for political power in the years to come. He ran again for Congress, for mayor of New York City and governor of New York State. At one point, he even created his own party. But his White House ambitions were doomed. William Randolph Hearst remains popular with political collectors and a variety of items can be found from his inevitably well-financed campaigns.

It was over 30 years until another publisher tried for the White House. This time it was Frank Gannett, whose name still graces numerous papers, including *USA Today*. Gannett thought that he would be the right choice for the GOP to take on FDR's third-term bid. His campaign was brief, well financed and hopeless.

In 1940, Frank Gannett was a little-known newspaper publisher from Rochester, New York. That year the GOP was in turmoil; its leading candidate for President (Tom Dewey)



GANNETT



KNOWLAND KNOWS

was a county official still in his thirties; its eventual presidential nominee (Willkie) was then still a registered Democrat. With matters seemingly open to any eventuality, Gannett decided that his hat belonged in the presidential ring.

He had plenty of money to spend. Delegates arriving in Philadelphia for the Republican National Convention found no shortage of signs, buttons and other items — including two live elephants — bearing the snappy slogan “Our Best Bet is Frank Gannett.”

On the first ballot, he drew 33 votes. By the fourth ballot, his tally had dropped to 4. One loyal delegate held out for him to the bitter end in the face of the Willkie bandwagon. After losing his presidential race, Gannett maintained an active role in New York politics but thereafter focused his main attention on building what was to become a huge media conglomerate.

The Fifties saw another publisher with presidential ambitions. The California Republican Party seemed almost triumphant that decade. President Eisenhower picked California Senator Richard Nixon as his vice president and then appointed GOP Governor Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. California's other senator, William Knowland, became Senate Majority Leader and Warren's lieutenant governor, Goodwin Knight, went on to easily win the state house in his own right. Things looked pretty bright for the Golden State GOP.

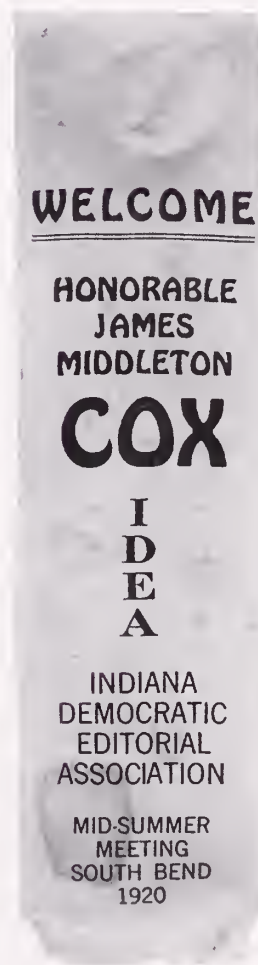
William Knowland was publisher of the *Oakland Tribune* as well as a politician. He had his eye on the White House and sought to out-manuever his former colleague, Richard Nixon. When President Eisenhower's heart attack raised doubts about a second term, Knowland's name was aggressively forwarded for the 1956 GOP nomination.

Ike wound up running for a second term after all but Nixon had gained important credibility when he filled in for the ailing chief executive. Knowland wanted to boost his own credentials for the 1960 nomination and decided that his resume would look better with some executive

experience. He let the California GOP know that he wanted to be its candidate for governor in 1958.

There was one problem: fellow-Republican Goodwin Knight was already Governor of California and planned to run for re-election. Knowland was a powerful politician and bulled his way to the gubernatorial nomination, forcing Gov. Knight to run for Knowland's senate seat. Voters thought the whole business stank and gave the Democrats a landslide victory, sending both Knight and Knowland into retirement. Knowland's promising political career was over. He would reappear briefly leading Barry Goldwater's important victory in the 1964 California presidential primary but that was as close to the White House as William Knowland would ever get.

The postwar era hasn't produced any real presidential hopeful/publishers, although there are those who might count recent GOP hopeful Steve Forbes in that category, although he is more involved with magazines than newspapers. Perhaps newspaper owners took a clue from the experience of James M. Cox. After losing the White House, Cox went on to build a media empire of newspapers, radio stations, TV stations, cable systems and numerous related enterprises. Cox Enterprises remains today in the hands of his family.★



An unusually large number of press-related Cox items survived over the years. That may be because newsmen proudly saved items relating to their colleague or because James Cox made certain newsmen were well cared for.

Democratic Presidential Candidates

ELECTROTYPE CUTS

These cuts are made from the best quality material and are OFFICIALLY APPROVED by the Bureau of Census, Columbus, Ohio, under the authority of the Federal Election Commission.



Cox 2 Column Cut \$3.25



Roosevelt 2 Column Cut \$3.25



Cox Roosevelt 3 Column Cut \$6.30



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Roosevelt 1 Column Cut \$1.90



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Roosevelt 1/2 Column Cut \$1.60



Cox Roosevelt 1 Column Cut \$1.90

Similar electros of Wilson, Marshall or Kern can be furnished on special order, at these prices, shipped from the Chicago foundry.

These Electrotype cuts are 100-line screen, suited for printing on ordinary news, poster and placard paper stock. This job is an example of the result you may expect with the use of cheap ink and without special care in make-ready of the cuts. Skillful make-ready plus good paper and good ink, will produce a much better effect from the cuts.

For Cuts of the REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES see other side

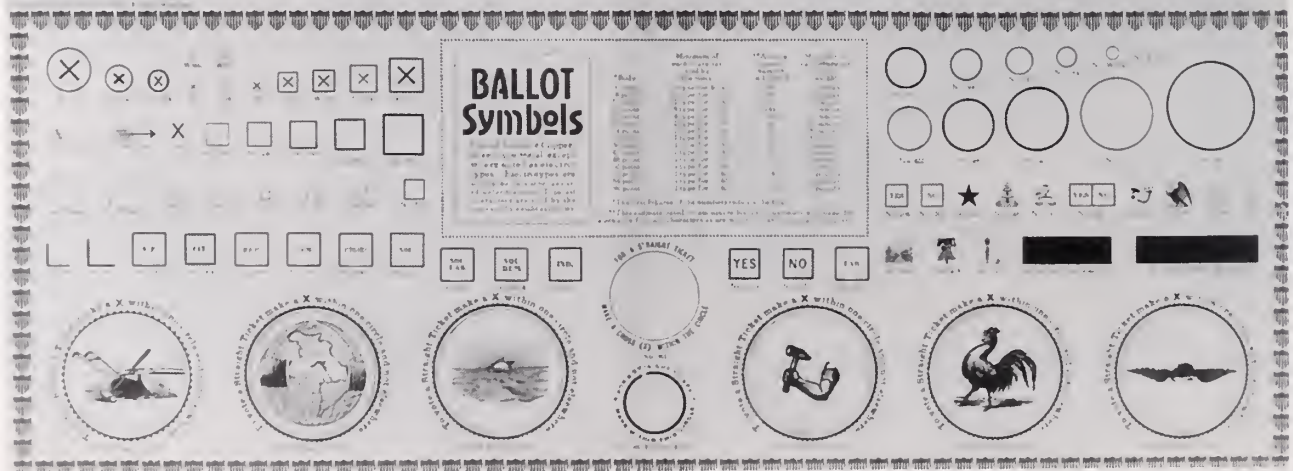
Send your order to the Nearest House of

Barnhart Brothers & Spindler

Chicago Washington, D. C. Dallas Kansas City Saint Louis Omaha Saint Paul Seattle



Cox Roosevelt 2 Column Cut \$3.60



Printers and newspapers across the country would have used these sheets of pictures and symbols for the candidates. You can see examples of how they were used on items to be found on pages 15, 27 and 46.

Republican Presidential Candidates

ELECTROTYPE CUTS

Made from AUTHENTIC PHOTOGRAPHS which have been OFFICIALLY APPROVED. The above Headings are sold by us with the special permission of the Edmonston Studio, Washington, D. C., owner of the copyrighted original.



Harding 2 Column Cut \$3.25



Coolidge 2 Column Cut \$3.25



Harding Coolidge 3 Column Cut \$6.30



Harding 1 Column Cut \$1.90



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Harding 1/2 Column Cut \$1.60



Coolidge 1/2 Column Cut \$1.60



Harding Coolidge 1/2 Column Cut \$1.90

Similar ectype cuts of Roosevelt, Taft, Hughes, Sherman, Fairbanks can be furnished on special order, at these prices, shipped from the Chicago foundry.

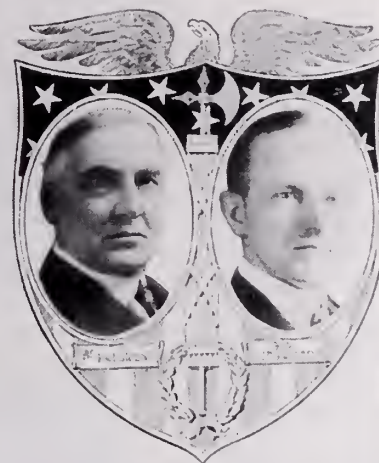
These Electrotypes are 100-line screen, suited for printing on ordinary news, poster and placard paper stock. This job is an example of the result you may expect with the use of cheap ink and without special care in make-ready of the cuts. Skillful make-ready plus good paper and good ink, will produce a much better effect from the cuts.

For Cuts of the DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES see other side

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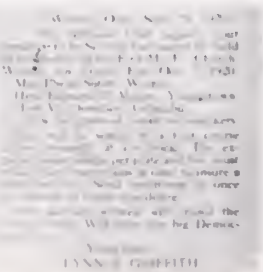
Harding Coolidge 2 Column Cut \$3.50



These cuts and ornaments will be useful during the Campaign, and many of them are suited to use in work of a patriotic character at any time. All are type cast on point blocks except those noted as electrotypes. We have available or will make to order any other ballot emblem or sign. If we do not show here just what you require, send us your order anyway, accompanied if possible by a proof or sketch of the design and size wanted.

DEMOCRATIC TICKET

REPUBLICAN TICKET



Theodore Hake's three volume Encyclopedia of Political Buttons remains a remarkable assembly of illustrations. This page contains Cox items pictured in Hake's books but not easily found otherwise.

The Liberty Cards

The 1920 campaign produced at least two sets of special card games featuring presidential candidates. The best known is the Tel-Bax set (see page 7) featuring Cox and Harding with pictures in various sizes. Less known is the special card game issued by the Liberty Games Company of Missouri. This set did not have clubs, hearts and so forth. It was a political card game with special cards. The cards featured states by electoral votes and cards for the candidates of the top four parties.

In the Liberty set, we have cards for Democrats Cox and Roosevelt plus cards for Republicans Harding and Coolidge. But, going further, we find candidates from two minor parties as well. The results in the Fall election showed the card makers had good foresight. Cards were made for the Socialist Party ticket of Debs and Stedman plus the Farmer-Labor Party nominees, Christensen and Hayes. In November, the GOP ran first and the Democrats second. Third came the Socialists and fourth the Farmer-Labor Party. Fifth was the Prohibition Party but the card game was only designed for four sets.

The candidate cards are shown on this and the next two pages. They are the size of normal playing cards but pictured slightly enlarged. The Liberty Games Company package is shown above, reduced in size.



K **KNOWN AS THE CHIEF CHOSEN PERSON OF THE PARTY**



WARREN G. HARDING
Nominee for President

K **KNOWN AS THE CHIEF CHOSEN PERSON OF THE PARTY**

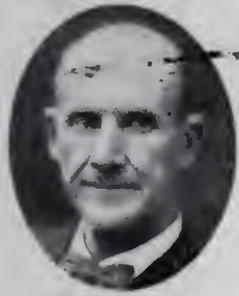
Q **QUALITY FOR SECOND PLACE**



CALVIN COOLIDGE
Nominee for Vice-President

Q **QUALITY FOR SECOND PLACE**

K **KNOWN AS THE CHIEF CHOSEN PERSON OF THE PARTY**



EUGENE V. DEBS
Nominee for President

K **KNOWN AS THE CHIEF CHOSEN PERSON OF THE PARTY**

KNOwn AS THE CHIEF CHOSEN
PERSON OF THE PARTY



P. P. CHRISTENSEN
Nominee for President

QUAlITY FOR SECOND PLAcE

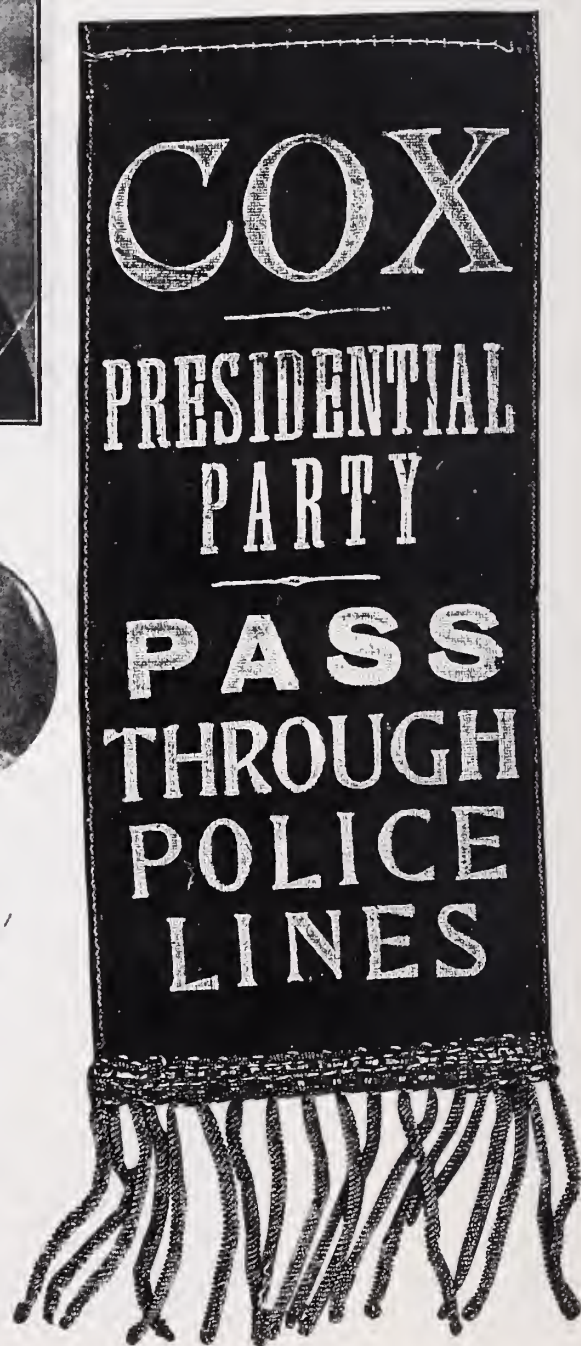


MAX S. HAYES
Nominee for Vice-President

QUAlITY FOR SECOND PLAcE



SEYMOUR STEADMAN
Nominee for Vice-President



Most of the items on this page are from the collection of Frank Cherry. One exception is the Press Reception ribbon and badge, which comes courtesy of Tom Slater.



Even the impressive Cox Enterprises collection can't encompass every Cox item. The selection on this page is from the collection of Frank Cherry.

